The CRISIS

APRIL 1923

15 cents the copy

SOUTHERN AID SOCIETY OF VIRGINIA, Inc.

Home Office: 527 N. SECOND ST. RICHMOND, VA.

CONDENSED ANNUAL STATEMENT

December 30, 1922

Balance Ledger Assets Brought Forward Jan. 1, 1922		$ 571,604.37
Income for 1922		817,961.69
TOTAL		$1,389,566.05
Disbursements for 1922		794,638.86
BALANCE LEDGER ASSETS Dec. 30, 1922		$ 594,927.20

LEDGER ASSETS ITEMIZED

Cash in Company's Office	$2,874.40	
Deposits in Banks and Trust Companies	68,617.87	
Cash in Transit from Dist. Offices	4,952.28	
TOTAL	$ 76,444.55	
Real Estate (Cost Price)	378,516.71	
Mortgage Loans on Real Estate	94,759.60	
Stocks and Bonds	32,553.00	
Bills Receivable	7,653.34	
Furniture and Fixtures	5,000.00	
TOTAL (Ledger Assets as Per Balance)	$594,927.20	

NON-LEDGER ASSETS

Interest and Rents due and accrued	$ 3,621.02	
Market Value of Real Estate Over Book Value	9,993.18	
TOTAL (GROSS ASSETS)		$ 608,541.40

ASSETS NOT ADMITTED

Bills Receivable	$ 7,653.34	
Furniture and Fixtures	5,000.00	
		12,653.34
TOTAL (ADMITTED ASSETS)		$ 595,888.05

LIABILITIES ITEMIZED

Notes Payable	$ 8,630.32	
Employees' Deposits	19,954.88	
Reserve for Unpaid Claims	1,008.60	
" " Federal Taxes	8,683.49	
" " Interest and Sundry Accounts	8,681.42	
TOTAL LIABILITIES EXCEPT CAPITAL		$ 46,958.71
Capital (fully paid)	$ 30,000.00	
Surplus Over All Liabilities	518,929.35	
Surplus as regards Policyholders		548,929.35
TOTAL		$ 595,888.05

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SOUTHERN AID SOCIETY OF VIRGINIA, Inc.

Operating in the State of Virginia and District of Columbia.

THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

PUBLISHED MONTHLY AND COPYRIGHTED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE AT 70 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y., CONDUCTED BY W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS; JESSIE REDMON FAUSET, LITERARY EDITOR; AUGUSTUS GRANVILLE DILL, BUSINESS MANAGER.

Vol. 25 No. 6 APRIL, 1923 Whole No. 150

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THE CRISIS

Vol. 25. No. 6 APRIL, 1923 Whole No. 150

Opinion of W. E. B. Du Bois

AS TO PUGILISM

PERSONALLY I never have considered pugilism the highest form of human entertainment. At the same time I must confess that, as compared with the soldiers, the pugilist ranks high in my set of values. I think that fighting with padded fists under set rules of fairness and with some limits to the punishment that may be inflicted is infinitely to be preferred to modern warfare in any of its aspects. For this reason, too, I am disposed to become sarcastic in the case of Siki and Johnson and Wills. There is only one reason in the world for stealing Siki's title, banning Johnson and refusing Wills a chance and that is that white folk are afraid to meet black folk in competition whenever equality and fairness in the contest are necessary. If white Europe and America are to meet the darker world they prefer to have it a matter of machine guns against assegais and under those circumstances their superiority is easily proven. But Siki has whipped Carpentier, Johnson could give Dempsey a good fight and Wills could give him a better one. And hence William Muldoon, czar of New York boxing, bars Johnson and Wills, while Paris does similar things to Siki. The action is beneath contempt. Colored voters ought to kick Muldoon to obscurity on the very first chance.

THE SATURDAY EVENING POST

MR. GEORGE H. LORIMER:

We are continually receiving, by word of mouth and by letter, protests against the treatment of the colored people in the *Saturday Evening Post*.

Especially have colored people objected to some of Irvin Cobb's stories, to nearly all of Roy Cohen's stories and lately to the story "Nick Pride," by Dingle.

I know that under the race conditions in the United States colored people are apt to be supersensitive, and to want in art and fiction only those things that paint them at their very best. As a writer myself, I have the strongest belief in the freedom and truth of art and, therefore, while I sympathize with much of the criticism of the sort of thing you continually publish in the *Post* about Negroes, my chief criticism is not on what you *do* publish but rather on what you *do not* publish.

While it is possible that Cohen's caricatures may have some artistic merit, surely no editor can think that this is the whole of the truth. And I am puzzled to know why it is that only that type of Negro is allowed to put his foot within your pages.

I am aware that you can expect comparatively little revenue from Negro readers or advertisers, and yet it seems to me that the larger duties and ideals of an editor in your influential place ought to induce you to look for, or at least to be willing to consider, other conceptions and portraits of Negroes, from those which you have in the past so persistently published.

I should be glad to know, if you are willing to express it, your attitude in this matter.

Very sincerely yours,
W. E. B. DuBois.

Many thanks for your letter of the twenty-second. We are always glad to hear from our readers and to receive their comment and criticism on the contents of the magazine. There is not the slightest intention or wish on our part to be unfair in our treatment of the colored people. When Paul Lawrence Dunbar was alive he was a regular contributor to our columns and we would welcome to our pages another colored writer with his ability. As a matter of fact we are inclined to think the critics to which you refer are just a little over sensitive. We do not remember ever having printed an ill-natured story about colored people and we print a great many more stories about whites *à la* Cohen than we do about colored. We think that our critics really want not equality of treatment but preferential treatment. As we have already said, we would welcome a colored writer of verse or fiction of Mr. Dunbar's ability to our columns.

Yours very truly,

THE EDITORS.

The above answer fails to meet our contention in two respects. In the first place the *Evening Post* does not have and cannot expect very many Paul Lawrence Dunbars even among its white contributors. In the second place while it is true that "we print a great many more stories about whites *à la* Cohen than we do about colored" it is also more painfully true that about Negroes they print *nothing else*. If they pursued this method with regard to white Americans the editorial ears would ring with bitter condemnation.

THE NEGRO AND LABOR

THE usual American attitude toward Negroes in industrial countries like this is two-fold. On the one hand, the white laboring man excludes the Negro from work just as far as possible, particularly in the skilled trades; this is because, as he says, the Negro will work for lower wages and does not deserve the consideration of white labor. The employer, on the other hand, will employ Negroes when he can get them more cheaply than white men, but he considers them less efficient and their presence raises problems. They are, nevertheless, always a possible substitute when white labor becomes too exorbitant in its demands.

Neither party is apt to consider the point of view of the colored man. He needs work and being usually excluded from the union, gets his chance to labor by underbidding the white laborer, and is compelled often to regard the man who hires "scab" labor as his benefactor. On the other hand, being compelled to live somewhere, being poor and ignorant, he brings to such employers and their friends problems in housing and other social matters.

To most people these problems are a sort of perpetual American condition and show no particular change. On the contrary, this problem of Negro labor is part and parcel of the whole world problem of industry,—before, during and after the war. When there came to Europe four comparatively new crops: sugar, rice, tobacco, and later cotton, they transformed the industry and commerce of the modern world. Before that local industry had supplied the wants of the poor, but commerce was primarily to satisfy the desires and whims of the rich. It had, therefore, during the Middle Ages many of the characteristics of gambling.

When, however, there came from overseas great crops which ministered to the wants of the mass of men, then commerce became more stabilized, the demand was steadier and the amount of goods handled was much larger; so commerce expanded tremendously. Then, too, the discov-

ery of America gave the laboring class, for the first time in modern days, free, rich land. All that was needed was labor, and labor was procured by seizing white men in Europe and black men in Africa. There was in the 15th Century no great difference between the best civilization of Africa and the best civilization of Europe; but while Africa had to protect herself against barbarians, Europe was protected by natural physical barriers, so that in Africa the slave trade came to be a defense against barbarians and therefore expanded, while in Europe certain classes of laborers began to gain political power.

There arose then in Europe the modern labor movement, and when this labor movement struck America, it found African slavery established here. At first it endured slavery because it was the slavery of an alien race; then it began to conceive that these black aliens might become laborers and free citizens, like the whites. This movement, which culminated after the Negroes had helped free America from England, was finally nearly halted by the increase of the new cotton crop, which made slave labor more valuable than ever.

However, by the middle of the 19th Century the white laborers realized that black slavery was encroaching upon their free land and must be confined to certain limits, while the white slave owners knew that they must have more and more free land or slavery would not pay. The results were the Civil War and the legal emancipation of Negroes.

This brings us to the modern world. The situation is that the mass of European and American white laborers have gained political power and are beginning to know how to use it. They are, therefore, demanding a larger share of the profits of industry; but, on the other hand, the controllers of industry and commerce have found that by investing in tropical and semi-tropical lands, they have a new chance to get cheap labor and valuable raw material of the sort which is increasingly in demand in modern industry. They have induced the laboring class to vote large appropriations for armies and navies. With this they seized control of Africa, Asia and the islands of the sea.

You would think that there would have come, for this reason, revolt on the part of the yellow, brown and black laborers, and particularly of those black laborers in the United States who are legally free but still largely disfranchised both in politics and by the labor movement. Such revolt was indeed foreshadowed, but before this came the World War, which was caused by the jealousy of the nations who sought to dominate the darker world and who fell out in the division of the spoils. They fought a terrible war with each other for four years, and the result is that since the war the darker nations *are* revolting. In China, Japan and India, in Egypt and South and West Africa, in the West Indies and in America, there is a growing determination on the part of colored laborers that they are not going to remain the victims of modern industrial development. The greatest post-war problem is whether white laborers are going to recognize the demand of these dark laborers for equal consideration, or whether white capitalists and employers are going to continue to play off black and white labor against each other and thus seek to exploit and develop Asia and Africa, simply for the benefit of the privileged classes of the white world.

A LABOR PROGRAM

THE British Labor Party has issued a political program which American Negroes need to understand and watch.

This program includes: (1) An all-inclusive League of Nations with power to deal with international disputes by methods of arbitration and conciliation; (2) The independence of Egypt, self-government in India and acceptance of the Irish treaty; (3) Direct taxes on the rich according to their wealth and the abolition of all indirect taxes; (4) The reduction of rent and the increase of wages; (5) The more equitable distribution of wealth, brought about by the nationalization of the mines and the railways; a national scheme of housing; increased old age pensions, and pensions for widowed mothers.

MR. EDDY

MR. SHERWOOD EDDY is a missionary. He has traveled east and west preaching at his own expense until he has a large vision of Christianity. His vision, however, is not quite large enough to include black folk. Some progressive white Southerners thought it was. They thought that if they invited him to Atlanta and gave him unhampered leave to say his message that he might help them to spread a saner attitude in the South toward the Negro. Nothing was further from Sherwood Eddy's thought. He did not intend to come within a thousand miles of the black man, at least in the South. He started out with apostolic frenzy. He bitterly arraigned those white people who try to be condescending to Indians. They will not brook condescension he cried—it is Christian brotherhood with them or nothing.

Here was a plain opening. There was an audience of Atlanta, Georgia, folk representing a dozen religious and philanthropic agencies—several hundred white and a hundred Negroes. A Southern white woman arose and said: "Mr. Eddy, is not the same thing true of educated Negroes in the South?"

Mr. Eddy paused and wiped his forehead. He said he was not prepared to say; he—er—did not quite know how to answer that. He did not quite know conditions "down here". He was just a "plain Yankee", etc. Then shaking the ghost he swung again to his bigger subject. He pleaded for Christian treatment of foreign peoples—"But" asked someone, "is there not more to race than just color?" Mr. Eddy thought there was. Yes, to be sure there was, but we could treat darker folks as brothers without their being brothers-in-law. But they would not let poor Mr. Eddy rest. Another Southern white woman expressed her interest in colored people, her love for their welfare and said that she thought the first lady's question ought to have been more frankly answered, and that the thing was to give colored people good treatment and help them in every way to become self-respecting without worrying about the question of brothers-in-law.

Mr. Eddy was embarrassed. He evaded the subject and tried to get going again. He uttered a few platitudes—sought desperately to regain the divine afflatus but no—the chance was gone. His cowardice had separated him from the anxious striving-forward-looking South and ranged him with Watson, Vardaman and the Ku Klux Klan; and he *knew* it.

SONG POEMS

WE continue to receive complaints and inquiries about song poems. We have a number of copies of contracts where firms offer to furnish music and the printed copy of songs for prices varying from ten dollars to one hundred dollars. Let us say again and finally, there is practically no market for song poems. If you have a poem which is worth publication, publish it. If you are in doubt

as to its merit, there are hundreds and thousands of publications in the United States whose editors are willing to print good poetry at least for nothing and in many cases they pay liberally for it. Poems thus published may now and then be selected by musicians for the purpose of setting them to music. In such cases they will get the permission of the publisher and the author and give them proper royalties. Any other procedure is futile and wasteful.

A NEGRO THEATRE

"I AM enclosing the announcement of a meeting which is the first step in the establishment of a colored theatre in Chicago. The effort is being sponsored by a well known group of both colored and white people in Chicago who have great faith in the creative abilities of the Negro in general and in his dramatic abilities in particular. The venture is entirely non-commercial and has three aims as set forth in the announcement. The theatre will be open every night and its staff will be paid. Both professional and amateur actors of ability will be used and developed. We will not do the absurd thing of producing so-called 'Broadway Successes', which, as you know, have no relation to the life of the Negro, his psychology, his hopes, and aspirations. We shall attempt only those dramatic pieces which have a universal appeal and are as true for the colored people as for the white or yellow races. And at the same time we shall do all we can to encourage both colored and white writers in the creation of a Negro dramatic literature, offering as substantial a reward as possible for the best play submitted each season. The productions will be given in a modern manner with every effort being made to make the scenery, the lighting and costuming as honest and beautiful as possible. A society will be organized around the theatre which will act as the theatre's moral sponsor. It will bring to Chicago, lecturers, both colored and white, on the drama, literature and other arts. It is the hope of this group that if the Chicago venture succeeds it will be able to lend its experience and at least moral support to groups in the larger Negro cities of America who may wish to establish similar theatres in their communities."

. . . . RAYMOND O'NEIL.

Now the news comes from Chicago that the Avenue Theatre has already witnessed the successful premiere of this theatrical organization in the production of Oscar Wilde's *Salome*.

EASTER

CHARLES BERTRAM JOHNSON

EVERYWHERE,
In water, air,
Thy Spirit is;
Rose-faced days
Deep in April,
With the flaring
Purple blaze
Of willows,
And maple buds,
Pent to bursting,
Now unbosom.

O sing it,
Robin-throated morn!
Loud ring it,
Lily-bells aborn!
Here! Everywhere!
Joyous Easter!
Thou hast come
Plain to see;
With Life for some,
But Truth for me.

THE CHEYNEY TRAINING SCHOOL FOR TEACHERS

LESLIE PINCKNEY HILL

THERE is wide-spread and heated discussion current at present along the border states and in some of the northern states on the relation of the public schools to the Negro population. This discussion, notably in Ohio, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, is dividing colored people into bitter camps and factions. The arguments revolve around the fundamental question of segregation. Is segregation spreading in the North? Is there any kind of segregation that is not wholly evil? How shall it be met? How far do Negro institutions developing in these states make for a disastrous cleavage between the races? Shall Negro institutions be encouraged, or shall they be abolished? All these questions are of the nature of explosives. They are questions that require self-possession, and the wariest use of words, if issues are not to be confused.

Inasmuch as the discussion in Pennsylvania centers for the present around the new status of the Cheyney Training School for Teachers, a brief statement of the relation of this school to the whole question may help towards public enlightenment. The attitude of the principal and faculty of this school, although well known, may serve at least to lay bare the grounds of the debate.

First, I believe in no kind of enforced segregation, and in no kind of Jim-crowism. On the contrary, the whole weight of this school has always been exerted against these evils. The very purpose of the Cheyney discipline is to develop a strong body of clear-minded leaders, who will consecrate their lives, if possible, to the stern task of helping to lift from the nation this incubus of Jim-crowism in all of its manifestations. But I believe completely in the right of any group of Negroes to organize, by themselves alone, or in co-operation with white friends, for any proper ends which they themselves may voluntarily choose to further. This right of self-determination is of the very essence of democracy. It is the Negro's surest weapon against Giant Despair. When others will not help us, we will help ourselves. Any other attitude marks the craven or the poser.

LESLIE PINCKNEY HILL

The Cheyney Training School for Teachers, now the fourteenth standard normal school of Pennsylvania, represents this principle. Nobody now connected with the administration had anything to do with the founding of this school. I was called to the principalship after the institution had served the race and the nation for nearly a hundred years. The school was established in 1832 by Richard Humphreys, a Philadelphia Quaker, who bequeathed the sum of $10,000 to certain Friends for *"the benevolent design of instructing descendants of the African race in school learning, in the various branches of mechanic arts and trades, and in agriculture in order to prepare, fit and qualify them to act as teachers"*. This statement of the origin and purpose of the school has been published in catalogues and reports literally for generations, and there never has been any reason why anybody should misunderstand or misstate either. The present elevation of the work crowns a long process of gradual and natural evolution.

In other words, this is not a school which was set up by white state officials and forced upon Negroes, but a voluntary undertaking developed from within by the finest type of inter-racial co-operation. The State did not create Cheyney. On the contrary, Cheyney represents the basic principle of voluntary group endeavor. The school of its own motion sought and

secured the professional recognition and the financial support which it now enjoys. To confuse these two types of development will be fatal to all true race building, and destructive of all dignified inter-racial co-operation. This is the confusion now rampant.

I came into this work with definite understanding of its origin and purpose. Three needs had to be met promptly and with concentrated attention. The first of these was the grading up of the school so that it would have a professional standing equal to that of the other teacher training schools of Pennsylvania. In this undertaking, representing the labor of years, we have been entirely successful. In 1920 our graduates, after passing the state examinations, were recognized by the Department of Public Instruction as fully qualified to receive certificates and diplomas, opening to them the public schools of Pennsylvania.

The next need was money for the widening work. Here again we have been reasonably successful. I found this school, as a private institution, securing, in 1914, $6,000 biennially from the state. The appropriation for the current biennium is $125,000. This amount still runs far short of needs, but it represents a great advance.

The third need remains—physical equipment reasonably commensurate with the requirements of our program. We need dormitories, class rooms, cottages for workers, gymnasium, a new training school, up-to-date laboratories, assembly hall, and much remodeling. These cannot all be supplied at once, but I am confidently expecting a substantial beginning of these improvements before the end of the present year.

Now has this progress at Cheyney brought about any enforced segregation in the normal schools of the Commonwealth? No group of Negro workers can ever tell when or how far their activities suggest to other people dissocial thinking and conduct. The following, however, are facts essential to any intelligent appraisal of the present situation:

1. The state law admits of no enforced segregation.
2. Cheyney as a private school was avowedly for colored students. Under the State, it continues its primary service to the race, but must admit any qualified applicant without regard to race, color or creed.
3. Any qualified colored student may attend any other Pennsylvania State Normal School.
4. There are more colored students in these other state normal schools today than ever before, and there are more students at Cheyney and a larger, stronger faculty.
5. There is no student at Cheyney who has not deliberately chosen to attend this institution.

It is not for me to examine or interpret the motives of any citizen who refuses to consider these facts.

With regard to the vicious sort of enforced segregation which all decent people oppose, there is no question as to where any colored man must stand. There is, however, a very serious question as to method. Something happens to a colored child in some mixed school, some colored teacher fails of appointment, colored children suffer from inconvenient transfers, some colored student in a normal school is denied rights and privileges. When these things happen, it is not, in my judgment, the part of wisdom to set up in this state a general hue and cry about segregation. The law here is clear and adequate. The effective method is to treat each case *specifically*, *locally* and *directly*. My own limited experience in Pennsylvania teaches that wherever two or three colored men of personality, clear mind and good judgment, careful of the meaning of words, confer directly with officials about these local embarrassments, they almost invariably get a hearing and clear up the muddle. Indignation mass meetings, appeals to the passions of the crowd, general condemnation of the whole white race, bad manners and violent language turn back all the wheels of progress. I am ready to go with any man who has a definite grievance, and who means bravely and directly, but with sober courtesy, to correct any evil that may afflict our people in the public school of the state. But I do not join any man who exhibits the same blind prejudice that we ourselves abhor, and who rushes to judgment without fact, or truth, or evidence.

This, then, briefly is my position in the whole discussion. It is my business to continue to develop this school primarily in the interest of my people, to keep its doors open at the same time to all qualified youth of any other race, to broaden the whole scope of its teaching, to work for the high-

est professional recognition, to enlarge and improve the physical plant, to secure liberally trained and experienced teachers, to get money—and to insure all this progress, as far as I am able, without yielding by one jot or tittle to the vicious sort of enforced segregation against which every true American citizen must wage incessant war.

The Outer Pocket

Dearborn, Michigan.

AN unknown friend, whose name and address I would be pleased to learn, has favored me during the past year with occasional copies of THE CRISIS, for which he has my sincere thanks. The last issue received was that for January.

Permit me to extend to you my sincere opinion that if the members of the race you are seeking to uplift will follow your advice, they will find a better feeling toward them than they imagine now exists.

The slavery to party naturally consequent on gratitude due the Providence which made that party an instrument in bringing them to a full equipment of citizenship, is as base as any other form, and race solidarity is an obstacle to a full development of the manhood which alone can make any man, white or black, a true citizen, a free man.

Race antipathy is as common to the Republican as to the Democrat. Why must the Negro serve either? The party lines of today are not those of the Civil War period, for the closest friends of Lincoln left the old Republican party in the '70s, and few ever returned, while many of the old line Democrats of the days of reconstruction are now high in Republican councils, having followed the Golden Calf in the '90s. Party allegiance thus is but fealty to a name and not a principle, hence is the greatest danger to the Republic.

In the first copy I received of THE CRISIS I was struck with the justice of your analysis of the President's social equality plea at Birmingham. The legal barriers to full individual freedom should be removed, and that is all the race asks, or can ask. All the sophistry in the world can not justify the carriage of a cold and warm plan into effect. But he who seeks to please all pleases none, and the white or black who lends approval to the sentiments the President there expressed lacks in understanding.

MARCUS T. WOODRUFF.

Plateau, Ala.

I am writing you to express my appreciation of your article appearing in the February *Century*. It is, perhaps, the most impersonal thing I have ever read from your pen. But the greatest source of my appreciation is its helpfulness,—helpfulness in clearing up some doubts in my mind and setting me straight in my attitude toward the strange man whom you choose for your subject.

I have been from the first unconditionally opposed to Marcus Garvey. My opposition was based on two considerations: first, I believed that his plans were utterly impracticable and out of harmony with the thought life of our people. Second, I believed that Marcus Garvey was consciously a crook.

I still hold my first belief, but your article has eliminated my second opinion. Viewing him from your angle I am led to see Marcus Garvey a reasonably honest man, disillusioned and wholly out of line with the current of life and thought moving around him. I think that is the picture you would have America see in beholding this unfortunate soul.

LEONARD F. MORSE.

Washington, D. C.

The thing I most wanted you to see is my book on the Philippines. I wanted to bring to your attention a slight variation in the Anglo-Saxon attitude toward peoples of a darker complexion. Here at home we exclude them from the operation of the constitution and laws that secure all the rest of us and lately have gone to the length of declaring in effect that the security of their lives against mob violence is no concern of government. In the Philippines we make with them a solemn covenant to which they adhere with meticulous care and when the time comes for us to fulfill our part of the agreement we side-step and lie and fake to avoid our obligations. Taking it altogether the enthusiasm with which some quaint thing called "Anglo-Saxon civilization" is vaunted seems to me a grotesque joke.

CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL.

THE NEGRO'S LOYALTY

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS STEWARD

HITHERTO that nondescript and greatly lauded emotional quality which we call loyalty has had, in the life of the American Negro, two distinct public manifestations—loyalty to the Republican Party and loyalty to the American Government. There appear now certain intensely significant indications of a change, certain insistent signs that this rather diffused devotion is concentrating into a class or race loyalty of which the first demand is consideration of race or class interest, and which is unable, by that test, to recognize any particular difference between Republican and Democrat, and challenges even the self-assumed everlasting rightness of the American Government itself. Consequently a complete revolt of the American Negro against the Republican Party is disconcertingly imminent, sharpest criticism and bitterest denunciation of the American Government are increasingly observable in his speeches and writings, while downright hatred of and contempt for everything American begin to be irritatingly importunate to be invited within the range of his more sober thinking.

Until recently little attention has been paid to the public loyalty of the American Negro. The Negro himself has regarded loyalty to the nation and to the Republican Party much as a fish regards the water in which it swims—absolutely essential to his well being, but mere matter of course at that. Whites have been busy exploiting and extolling, in sugary sentimental extravagances, the personal loyalties of beatific "black mammies" and late lamented "good niggers" of the hopeless and spineless Uncle Tom variety, and although they may resent the classification, they have been exactly like the blacks in taking for granted that the American Negro would unhesitatingly render unquestioning allegiance to the Republican Party and the American Government on every possible occasion.

There have been ample reasons for the existence of this undiscriminating attitude. As regards the Republican Party these reasons stand somewhat as follows. The Republican Party happens to be the one political organization which soon after his emancipation espoused the Negro's cause and which has ever since professed a desire for fair play for him. It is the party which in numerous loftily-worded platforms has announced its determination to compass his complete economic, social and political freedom. Moreover, as patronage and not performance is the norm of party popularity in America, the Negro has been won to the support of Republicanism by a tactful distribution of "plums" reserved for him. Again there have been certain outstanding dramatically impressive personalities identified with the party whose public behavior and utterances have acted as powerful and persuasive emotional stimuli to his notion of loyalty—personalities like that of Lincoln, whose heroically tragic figure has been transmuted by him into a blindly worshipped demi-god; Frederick Douglass, whose expressive metaphor, "The Republican Party is the ship—all else is the sea," has been to him for decades a strangely irresistible slogan; Roosevelt, whose defiant theatrical gesture in the Booker Washington luncheon appealed tremendously to his vanity and won his undying admiration. Thus because of his uncritical regard of the record of the party, it has had and held his unwavering devotion.

With the American Government the case is equally simple. The American Negro, like other persons everywhere, does not always take the pains to distinguish between the terms "government," "nation," "country," and the people of a government, nation or country, in spite of Woodrow Wilson's punctilious insistence upon this differentiation. To him these are all one. It follows that whatever injustices he experiences or benefits he receives in America, he credits, in his loose thinking, to his country. And harassing impediments to the contrary notwithstanding, he has continued to think that this is his country, that his right to this claim is absolutely incontestable. He has been here almost as long as any of his neighbors and longer than most, has worked as hard as any and harder than some to build American civilization, and has

fought as often as any and amid more galling humiliation than all others to preserve it. It is truly his country; he knows no other; and consequently the government has always received his fealty.

All this has been unqualifiedly true until very recently, in fact until the violent hysteria created and developed by the hate-doctors of the war began to envelop the subject of the Negro's loyalty. The national government, spurred on by a vigilant and vigorous red-heresy hunting Department of Justice, then began to grow a bit suspicious of this supinely loyal individual. It had not the remotest notion apparently that its own mortifying and discriminatory treatment of black soldiers might be the near-at-hand source of its suspicion. Instead, it dispatched blandly innocuous emissaries to France to dole out doses of soporific pap to supposedly "uppish" black men in trenches. Certain Negro periodicals were hailed before the all-powerful censor, promptly diagnosed as "red" or near-red, and were barred from the mails or reprimanded accordingly. At the same time, that pet phrase which is always so blatantly and brutally heralded abroad in times of superheated one-hundred percentism appeared everywhere, namely, "This is a white man's country". And, curiously and inconsistently enough, the loyalty of the American Negro now received widespread public praise. It was suddenly discovered that he had never produced an anarchist, presidential assassin, traitor or bolshevist. In every war he had unflinchingly done his duty, from Boston to Carrizal. In the present war he had responded unfalteringly, doing his bit in munition plant, shipyard, Liberty Loan and other drives, in labor battalions, in the trenches, etc., etc., to make the world safe for democracy. Paid government speakers spilled this fulsome stuff all over the country, while the Negro abroad was being told to return home as a Negro should, quietly, take and keep a Negro's place when he got there, and remember that this is still a white man's country. Down in Dixie he had to endure still another time, from the lips of possible lynchers, the nauseating recital of devoted "mammies" and faithful old black retainers as sole protectors of lone white females during the Civil War.

But if the government was somewhat suspicious, the Republican party slept. And it still sleeps. No intimation that its hitherto steadfast ally might conceivably have a grievance threatening the peace of relations between them seems to penetrate its pachydermatous body. The G. O. P., so far as the American Negro is concerned, lives in the seventies, and is serenely confident that it holds his vote in its hand, not by force mind you, but as a gladly voluntary offering.

The benevolent old elephant is in for a rude jolt. For the Negro knows, and those fortunate whites who associate with him on the level of ordinary human intercourse must have heard, that there is today on his part a widely extended and growing determination to forget party completely and to remember both the man who favors him and the man who does not favor him. And he does not mean personal favors either. For while he recognizes that the party may give Bill a job here mopping corridors, and Tom one there polishing cuspidors, that Dr. B. A. Blank may receive the Liberian Ministry and Hon. A. B. See the headship of some functionless second-hand bureau, yet he also recognizes that the condition of the American Negro as a mass remains unimproved, unheeded, uncared for. He recognizes further that these same things can and do happen under a Democratic regime. Consequently, so far as he is concerned, party distinctions vanish.

And so he plans to give some intelligent direction to his political loyalty. This purpose bodes ill for the Republican Party. Mountainous grievances which the party, implicitly or explicitly, promised to redress remain. The Dyer Bill has been chloroformed. Segregation everywhere grows apace. Disfranchisement flaunts itself nakedly unashamed, yet no reduction of Congressional representation proportionate with dead votes is made. Jim Crow stalks boldly even in Washington itself. Peonage is unsuppressed. Hundreds of minor wrongs go absolutely unnoticed. Yet the administration is Republican!

Now precisely in the fact that the Negro is definitely concluding to abandon party lines lies the danger that his loyalty to the American Government may succumb. For no longer willing or able fairly to blame the party for his wrongs, his censure shifts to the American people. Moreover, depressing comparisons of the country's contradictory conduct in practically similar situations encourage his growing alienation. He

is roasted alive and tortured in East St. Louis, *Illinois;* little is done, while well-meaning uplifters send social workers not to Christianize the aggressors, but to civilize their victims. At Herrin, *Illinois,* his pale brother is done to death, the president publicly puts pressure on the State, "blot-erasing" committees whirl through every county defending the honor of their commonwealth, and an aroused public opinion rapidly sets the legal machinery in motion. Again, United States marines continue to overawe Black Haiti, the turbulent, while they are withdrawn from Santo Domingo, the turbulent. Furthermore, diverse intolerable sufferings for which no party, or rather all parties, should be held responsible are heaped upon him. Gruesome riots break out in cities here and there, and having no assurance that the agents of the government, the police, will not join the rioters against him, he is saved, not by government, but by himself. Violent race-hating mobs lynch him, burn him, emasculate him, whip him, deport him, imprison and enslave him. The American people remain all but completely indifferent while everywhere arise proscriptions, everywhere close avenues of employment, everywhere narrows his opportunity to enjoy life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Encircled everywhere, with no outlet freely offered, the alternatives are perish or break out. And that is how the Negro is beginning to think. The race that can now proudly assert that it has never produced an anarchist may be painfully surprised some day with a finished article in that line when its wrongs already can bring a youth madly to his feet, tears streaming down his cheeks, his voice choking as he says: "Put a bomb under the ——— and blow it to hell; that'll make 'em notice." The group that rejoices in the fact that it has never included a political assassin may yet be profoundly abased to own one when even now a deeply embarrassed guest refused service at a hotel can be counselled to "take an ax and smash some of that damned plate glass. They'll jail you, but they'll take notice". And the most pathetically loyal people God has ever created may yet bring forth what men call a traitor when they begin to believe that it is rather fear of personal consequences than adherence to convictions that has so often led them uncomplaining to the slaughter for a nation from which they have suffered and do suffer apparently unending wrongs.

Hence, as the American Negro reviews his desperate predicament in this country, he is now subjecting his own attitude to the powers that be to the severest scrutiny. In so far as that predicament is chargeable to the Republican Party, he is gradually but surely resolving to withdraw his support. And in so far as that predicament is chargeable to the American people, regardless of party, he is gradually but surely being led along a line of harshly condemnatory thought which portends serious impairment, if not absolute nullification, of his attachment to the American nation.

For loyalty, to abide, must have its basis in self-interest, whether that be expressed as class, race, national, or broadly human interest. This is the secret of the Negro's constancy to the Republican Party and of his impending rupture with it. But no man expects or is expected to be loyal to that which is inimical to the interests of himself or his fellows. For example, who would expect Armenians to be loyal to the Turks? That the time may never come when men everywhere will not expect the American Negro to be loyal to America should be the prayer and the work of every person who professes to love this country

MAYBE

B. B. CHURCH

VAINLY you wonder why sun, moon and star,—
Pageant illuminate;—
Never disclose what their destinies are;
Seldom reveal what their distances bar.
Mysteries fascinate.
Then, maybe you err when you try to unfold
All that my heart would speak—
Better the faith of the knight of old,
Ending his quest with a cup of gold—
Love is the boon I seek.

National · Association · for · the · ... Advancement · of · Colored · People.

"WE HAVE JUST BEGUN TO FIGHT"

OUR Spring Membership Drive is now on. Every Negro who believes in the full manhood rights, and every white person who believes in full democracy, should work to gain members in this campaign.

Our big city branches must increase their memberships until they number thousands, closely and efficiently organized. Only thus can they cope with the forces gathered against them. In every hamlet and village where fifty Negroes live, there should be an active and alert branch of the N. A. A. C. P.

If one observes the almost general fight being waged to introduce separate schools in the North, and the persistent propaganda and segregation which is growing and spreading, he cannot but realize that there are strong and insidious forces massed against the progress of the Negro in the North, as well as in the South. But one thing can stay their evil work—the organization of strong counter-forces, such as well-organized branches of the N. A. A. C. P. Unless our people work to build up such strong branches of the Association, we shall have growing tension between the races and increased prejudice that will make the North but little different from the South. Here you have the reason why we urge every red-blooded colored man and woman to join the ranks, and work with might and main to make the membership drive of 1923 the biggest in the history of the Association.

That the N. A. A. C. P. is the efficient organization to hold the line against the encroachments of our enemies, and to make progress for fuller rights and opportunities, has been manifested by the splendid record of the work accomplished by it. The last notable victory is that one in the United States Supreme Court on February 19, when the Supreme Court decided in favor of the Arkansas peons, as the result of the work of the N. A. A. C. P.

There is no organization before the public which more economically administers its funds. Its work is for all our people, regardless of position or cultural status. The famous Arkansas cases, to which we have just referred, were fought for poor, ignorant and obscure Negroes, most of whom had never heard of our Association. It draws no color line, for it realizes that the race problem is really a problem of races, and that both white and colored people must work together in seeking to remedy the evils of race prejudice.

Moorfield Storey, the president, who is ex-president of the American Bar Association, and a lawyer of international reputation plead the Arkansas cases before the United States Supreme Court without fee just as he had done in the segregation cases.

The N. A. A. C. P. is the one organization working for democracy in America. It urges your assistance and help. Join the branch of the N. A. A. C. P. in your community. If a nominal member, become a worker in the Spring Drive. Bring in as many members as possible. If your branch is inactive, join forces with your fellowmen to arouse it to activity. If no branch exists in your community, write to the National Office for directions for organizing a branch, and determine to build up a unit of the Association in your community. Do all you can to arouse others, that the 1923 Membership Drive may manifest to America that we are not "quitters"—that we have just begun to fight. Our four hundred and thirty-nine branches must every one be made efficient and thoroughly alive, and many more added.

Yours is the task. Yours is the challenge. Meet it!

ANNUAL CONFERENCE

In previous years it has been impossible for many loyal N. A. A. C. P. workers who are school teachers or who cannot arrange their vacations so early to attend the annual conferences held, hitherto, in June. For that reason the conference this year will be held in August. The place is Kansas City, Kansas. The exact date will be given in the next issue of the CRISIS *and the Branch Bulletin.*

THE DEFEAT OF ARKANSAS MOB LAW

WALTER F. WHITE

ON Monday, February 19, the Supreme Court of the United States handed down its decision in the now famous Arkansas Cases, reversing the convictions of the five men in whose behalf appeal was being made, and ordered the *Federal District Court* to inquire into and ascertain if the men received a fair trial in the state courts of Arkansas. This great decision marks the beginning of the end of the cases which have constituted one of the most notable and most difficult struggles ever undertaken by the N. A. A. C. P. in its twelve years of existence.

For three and a half years, at a cost of more than $14,000, and in the face of relentless and bitter opposition on the part of the Arkansas authorities and the whites of the state, the N. A. A. C. P. has fought to save the lives of the twelve men who were condemned to death, and to release from prison the sixty-seven others who were sentenced to long prison terms for alleged connection with the so-called Phillips County, Arkansas, "massacre" of October, 1919. Never has there been a more determined effort to slaughter innocent men than that shown by the whites of Phillips County and of that entire state. Every effort, fair and foul, was used to intimidate the courts that the men should be killed, and the courts themselves seemed peculiarly sensitive to the mob spirit that has dominated these cases from their inception. Only by the carrying of these cases to the highest tribunal in the land could justice or, rather, the prevention of gross injustice, be secured.

The importance of the decision just gained is so immense that it will be interesting to the reader to trace these cases from their inception.

As told in the March CRISIS, following the rioting in Phillips County, Ark., twelve men were sentenced by the Phillips County Circuit Court to die in December, 1919. Lawyers employed by the N. A. A. C. P. appealed to the Arkansas State Supreme Court in their behalf and that court reversed the conviction of seven of the men and remanded them for retrial in the Phillips County Circuit Court. In the cases of the other five men the convictions were approved. It is this group of cases on which the United States Supreme Court has just rendered its verdict and of which the story is told below.

After the Arkansas State Supreme Court had refused to reverse the verdict of the lower court, Charles H. Brough, then governor of Arkansas, set a new date for their execution. To avoid their execution, the lawyers defending the men applied to the Pulaski Chancery Court for a writ restraining the State of Arkansas from executing the men. Pursuing its vindictive course, the State of Arkansas filed a demurrer to the writ, which demurrer, in effect, said, "Suppose all that you say about these men being unfairly convicted be true, you have no remedy at law." The demurrer was sustained by the court, thus dissolving the writ which was preventing the execution of the men.

Again a new date of execution was set. But the defenders of the men were not beaten. An appeal to the United States Supreme Court on a writ of error was made. The Supreme Court ruled that it could not legally inquire into the cases nor take any action of any sort upon them by means of such a writ. Then a petition was filed in the Federal Court of the Eastern District of Arkansas, setting forth that the men had been deprived of their liberty without due process of law, and stated fully the grounds on which this claim was made. The State demurred to their petition, which demurrer was sustained by Judge Cotteral who presides over that branch of the Federal Court in Arkansas. Judge Cotteral declined to hear the facts but ruled that, since there was probable cause for an appeal, such an appeal be allowed to the United States Supreme Court.

It was on this appeal that Moorfield Storey so ably and so successfully argued in the Supreme Court on January 9 and brought about the favorable decision on February 19.

The majority opinion of the court was delivered by Mr. Justice Oliver Wendell

Holmes. Five other justices as follows concurred: Chief Justice Taft, and Associate Justices Brandeis, Butler, Van Devanter and McKenna. A dissenting opinion was rendered by Mr. Justice McReynolds in which Associate Justice Sutherland concurred. The decision was thus six to two.

After reciting the facts admitted by the demurrer, the majority opinion goes on as follows to outline the facts and the law:

"According to the affidavits of two white men and the colored witnesses on whose testimony the petitioners were convicted, produced by the petitioners since the last decision of the (Arkansas State) Supreme Court hereafter mentioned, the Committee (of Seven) made good their promise by calling colored witnesses and having them whipped and tortured until they would say what they wanted, among them being the two relied on to prove the petitioners' guilt. However that may be, a grand jury of white men was organized on October 27th, with one of the Committee of Seven, and it is alleged, with many of those organized to fight the blacks, upon it, and on the morning of the 29th the indictment was returned. On November 3rd, the petitioners were brought into Court, informed that a certain lawyer was appointed their counsel and were placed on trial before a white jury—blacks being systematically excluded from both grand and petit juries. The Court was crowded with a throng that threatened the most dangerous consequences to anyone interfering with the desired result. The counsel did not venture to demand delay or a change of venue, to challenge a juryman or to ask for separate trials. He had had no preliminary consultation with the accused, called no witnesses for the defense although they could have been produced, and did not put the defendants on the stand. The trial lasted about three-quarters of an hour and in less than five minutes the jury brought in a verdict of guilty of murder in the first degree. According to the allegations and affidavits there never was a chance for the petitioners to be acquitted; no juryman could have voted for an acquittal and continued to live in Phillips County and if any prisoner by any chance had been acquitted by a jury he could not have escaped the mob . . . .

"We shall not say more concerning the corrective process afforded to the petitioners than that it does not seem to us sufficient to allow a Judge of the United States to escape the duty of examining the facts for himself when if true as alleged they make the trial absolutely void. We have confined the statement to facts admitted by the demurrer. We will not say that they cannot be met, but it appears to us unavoidable that the District Judge should find whether the facts alleged are true and whether they can be explained so far as to leave the state proceedings undisturbed.

"Order reversed. The case to stand for hearing before the District Court."

This is what the decision means. The Federal District Judge in Arkansas, in sustaining the demurrer of the State of Arkansas, ruled that the five defendants had no legal remedy. The United States Supreme Court decision reverses that decree and the case is sent back to him to hear the facts. If he finds that the facts are as alleged in the petition, he will grant the writ of *habeas corpus*, and that will mean the defendants are improperly held by the keeper of the penitentiary, must be brought before the court, and there discharged on the ground that they are not held by any legal process. Under the constitution no man can be deprived of life or property without due process of law, and the Supreme Court has held that upon the facts alleged in the petition, if they are true, (in filing a demurrer to these facts, the State of Arkansas does not deny they are true) these defendants are deprived of their liberty without due process of law. It is therefore highly probable that these men who have been under sentence of death since November 3, 1919, will soon be free.

For a minute, let us go back to the cases of Ed Ware and the other five men whose cases were appealed to the Arkansas State Supreme Court after they too were sentenced to death by the Phillips County Circuit Court on November 3, 1919. It will be remembered that the State Supreme Court reversed the lower court and ordered the men to be retried. They were again placed on trial in the Phillips County Court and again convicted and sentenced to death. Again an appeal was made by the N. A. A. C. P. lawyers to the State Supreme Court, and a second time their conviction was reversed by the higher court, this time on the ground that Negroes had been deliberately excluded from the jury in contravention of the Fourteenth Amendment and the Civil Rights Act of 1875. The men were ordered tried a third time by the Phillips County Court.

This second reversal took place on December 6, 1920. Although the attorneys for the men have been ready for trial each time the cases were set, on every occasion the State of Arkansas asked postponement. It has been evident that the State was disinclined to risk further discredit through a

third reversal, and was waiting until the United States Supreme Court had rendered its decision in the other block of cases. Now that the decision has been rendered, it is quite possible that the State of Arkansas will allow the cases of Ed Ware and the five men to go by default under the statute of limitations which requires release of men who have been awaiting retrial for two years and who have not been tried through unreadiness on the part of the State.

In similar fashion will the cases of the sixty-seven men sentenced to long prison terms be affected. Writs of *habeas curpus* are now being prepared to obtain their release. When this is done, all of the seventy-nine men will be freed, and the biggest case of its kind ever known will have been completed.

Why are these cases so important? Is it simply that twelve innocent men might be saved from death and sixty-seven other men might be released from unjust confinement in prison? By no means. It is, of course, humane and necessary that such struggles to prevent legal murder be waged. But there are two reasons far more important why these cases and their successful conclusion affect the lives and destinies of every colored man and woman in the United States and particularly those who live in the farming sections of the South. It affects with equal force white tenant farmers of that same region.

The first of these reasons is this. If the deliberately manufactured charge which was spread by news despatches throughout the country that these colored men had formed an organization "to massacre white people" had gone unchallenged, Negroes could have been butchered and murdered like wild beasts in all parts of the South and the slaughter justified by the tale that they "had formed an organization to kill white folks just like those Negroes did in Phillips County, Arkansas, in 1919." *That lie has been exploded for all time!*

The second reason is even more important. This decision opens up the entire question of economic exploitation of colored and white farmers alike under the share-cropping and tenant-farming systems of the South. According to Dr. Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard University, the Negro forms two-fifths of the population of the South but *produces three-fifths of the wealth.* Negro farmers enter into contracts with landowners in all the cotton states through which an equitable division of the crops produced is guaranteed. Under the terrorization which rules the South through mob-law, these Negro farmers are seldom given itemized accountings, are seldom allowed to know the price at which the crops they raised are sold by the landlords, are forced to accept the landlord's figures for supplies received, and dare not question the honesty of the accounting. Bills for supplies are padded, prices received through the sale of crops are whatever the landlord chooses to tell his tenants. In such manner the Negro usually finds himself deeper and deeper in debt every year regardless of how little he used in supplies or how high the price of cotton or corn.

Under the system no Negro is allowed to leave a plantation as long as he remains in debt. Thus, the landlord cannot only take by force and intimidation all of the crop but he can assure his labor supply for the coming year. It was against such a system as this that the colored men in Phillips County, Ark., organized. They knew that any individual Negro who dared dispute the figures given him by his landlord was liable to be classed as a "bad" Negro and lynched if he became too insistent in his demands for an honest settlement. They had learned through bitter experience and through conditions unbelievable to men and women who live in more enlightened sections of the United States, a lesson of organization which many colored people in other parts of the country have not yet learned.

In the final analysis, lynching and mob violence, disfranchisement, unequal distribution of school funds, the Ku Klux Klan and all other forms of racial prejudice are for one great purpose—that of keeping the Negro in the position where he is economically exploitable. A blow so powerful at the fundamental form of exploitation—the share-cropping system through which Negroes are robbed annually of millions of dollars—is the most effective attack on the whole system of race prejudice that could be struck. The Supreme Court decision in these notable cases thus becomes one of the milestones in the Negro's fight for justice—an achievement that is as important as any event since the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation.

THE NEGRO AND THE NORTHERN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

II

IN the March CRISIS *we told of the need for a Vocational Counsellor for colored children in the public schools of New York and of how Mrs. Elise Johnson McDougald came to be appointed to that position. We now continue the account of her activities.*

7. THE WORK OF THE FIRST YEAR

During the first year, the Counsellor (Mrs. McDougald) interviewed all girls over 14 from grades 6B through grade 8B. As a result of guidance at P. S. No. 119, the percentage of graduates going to high school, instead of to work was raised in one term from 62½% to 78%; the third to 85½, and the next to 89%. The number taking the general high school work showed the largest increase in numbers. For instance, in June, 1919, 11 girls went to Wadleigh High School, while in February, 1920, 25 girls went on to prepare for such work as teaching, high grade secretarial work, and the professions of medicine, etc. The number going to work was decreased to 11 from 16. Special attention was given to those girls who were forced to go to work and everything done to secure for them jobs at which they could have some training.

DISTRIBUTION OF GRAMMAR SCHOOL GRADUATES

	Jan., '19	Jan., '20	June, '20	Jan., '21
To High School	62½%	78%	85%	89%
To Manhattan Trade	16¼%	8	8¼	6
To Business School	1¼%	2	1¼	2
To Work	20	12	3	1
Leaving City	0	0	1¼	0
To Music Conservatory	0	0	1¼	At Home 2

One criticism which this work brought from an official high in the school system was that too many Negroes were being encouraged to go to high school!

Besides this work with graduates, a number of girls in the 7th and 8th year were persuaded not to leave school and go to work but rather to take a one year's course at the Manhattan Trade School. Ten such girls entered the Trade School during that school year.

Figures do not give an adequate picture of the detail of the work necessary to bring about the above results. It entailed the explanation to parents of the meaning and use of psychological examinations which were given by the Educational Clinic of the College of the City of New York.

It entailed home visits; the securing of scholarships from the Child Labor and the Henry Street Scholarship Committees, in order to raise the family financial status to the point where advice as to further schooling could be acted upon. Help was also secured from such organizations as the Charity Organization Society, Harlem Hospital, Clinics, Widows Pension Bureau, St. George's Society, Henry Street Visiting Nurses, etc.

8. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORK

During the second year, every effort was made to further improve the technique of guidance. The invention of a system of symbols, showing the purpose and result of interviews, greatly helped in keeping accurate record of each day's work. The large sheets used for summarizing the vocational problems of an entire class were discarded and the use of a file card for each pupil, begun.

The routine work of interviewing and advising the graduating class and the girls over 14 and above 6B was continued in the second year. Besides the raising of the percent of graduates going to high school, 9 out of 20 girls in the 7th and 8th years were dissuaded from leaving to go to work and kept in No. 119. One graduate of the last year returned to get information about the Continuation School and was persuaded to enter High School. In addition, six girls who were especially suited to Manhattan Trade School, but who were not admitted upon application, were induced to remain in No. 119 rather than seek work when jobs were scarce.

During the second year, the Bureau began to receive calls from the High Schools in Manhattan and the Bronx who asked that guidance and placement work be done for their colored students. This work was in addition to the regular work mapped out but was gladly undertaken because of the need.

The third year of Vocational Guidance was begun with the re-assignment of the same Counsellor, as teacher-in-excess at School 119 and at the Counsellor's request, she was so assigned by the Board of Superintendents and the Board of Education that she could also work in the boys' school, 89, as well as in 119. Having reduced the tech-

nique of guidance to a habit, she felt that guidance in two schools would be quite possible. To the second school, the District-Superintendent added a third, and in September, 1922, work in the three schools was under way. The Bureau at 89 was completely equipped as an office, but at 5 the work went on without proper equipment. The Counsellor met with hearty co-operation on the part of all of the Principals, who expressed themselves as being completely in sympathy with the work which they consider vital.

Besides the work of holding group talks with the 8B students, the individual interviewing was continued. As the work progressed, the duties of the Counsellor resembled the work of the "Special Teacher": it was necessary to instruct the teachers in the methods of guidance, and to leave to the class teacher the guidance of those children who presented only the ordinary problems. Teachers have been doing vocational guidance but confess themselves in need of data and technique to avoid the poor results that follow incompetent advice. The Counsellor discovered through the files those children in circumstances which warranted special guidance. The standard of the Counsellor was to interfere with class work as little as possible and to get information, independently of the teacher's time, of those cases mentioned above (just as the nurse and other workers do). The teachers were encouraged and took advantage of the Counsellor's request that cases needing immediate attention be sent to the Bureau even before reached through the Counsellor's routine work.

9. INTENSIVE STUDIES

During this third year of work a study was made of 127 girl graduates of the classes of 1919 and 1920 of public school 119, who had entered high school or trade school after having received guidance at 119. This study was made by Dorothy Hendrickson, a colored teacher working for her Master's degree at Columbia University.

The homes of all of the 127 girls were visited and the following facts found:

27% of the 127 girls are still in high school. Of these, 75% of the girls are B+ or higher in the personality estimate of the school, including neatness, punctuality and attendance. Of 60 girls in high school 47 were found to be up to grade, 22 retarded one term, 5 two terms, and one three terms. Of the 22 retarded, one term, 14 can graduate on time.

33% of the girls had left high school. There are 41 girls at work all day and three still in school working after school. Of these 44, 20 are working at the kind of work for which they have received training, 24 are working in lines other than that toward which they had been encouraged, but 14 had followed the general advice given by the Counsellor. There were 10 who did not take the Counsellor's advice. Of these 10, 7 were retarded and finally changed to the choice suggested. Five of these girls dropped out of school.

Another special study was made by the Counsellor herself on the "Use of the Intelligence Test in Solving the Problems of Vocational Guidance." Three groups were studied: The over-age group choosing to take up domestic and personal service. The group choosing stenography, the group of 28 students facing the problem of choosing high or trade school or work.

When it used to be asserted that no difference was made among pupils in the schools this resulted in the colored group being almost entirely without special guidance or notice. Mrs. McDougald's work was to take into account the special needs of this group and present it to the authorities so that attention could be paid to it. Many of them soon became willing to give every consideration to these needs. The responsibility, however, of finding out just what the needs were, was placed upon the shoulders of the colored citizens.

10. THE VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE COMMITTEE

As the result, the Vocational Guidance Committee for Harlem was formed with colored and white members from the educators and citizens of the district. They induced the United States Department of Labor to make the vocational survey of New York City which has covered 5,000 employers and 1,000 colored employees. It is thought that this survey will show the broad range of employment of colored people and be a definite answer to the attempt of the Manhattan Trade School to narrow Negro training.

11. INTELLIGENCE TESTS

This report illustrates the whole problem. Here is a group of people who need intelligent sympathy and attention; they need all grades of education; and, most of all, enlarged vocational opportunity. They are

not all geniuses nor are they all subnormal. For instance the results of psychological tests made on a group of colored boys in June, 1921, show the following results:

Number with superior intelligence	25 or 24.1%
Number with average intelligence	53 or 49.1%
Number with backward intelligence	33 or 30.5%
This same group chose the following vocations:	
Professions	17 or 28.5%
Commercial	3 or 7.5%
Industrial	12 or 30.9%
No vocation entering High School	5 or 13. %
Work entering evening High School	2 or 5.1%
This same group chose the following High Schools:	
General High	14 or 35.9%
Special High School	13 or 33.5%
Vocational School	10 or 25.5%
Work with Evening High School	2 or 5.1%

12. CHARACTER OF PUPILS

It is natural that these boys and girls should be of widely different experience and mentality. If we take the colored pupils attending school 119 we find these facts showing the difference in origin and background. Of the 445 children interviewed in 1920-21, 364 could tell where their parents were born. Of these 364, 97 girls were themselves born in Southern States, while 290 parents were Southern born. The majority of the Southern born girls have been here more than three years, but these are in upper grades. With the exception of two parents from Tennessee, one from Kentucky, and one from Texas, the entire group came from the South Atlantic States. A study of the social and economic conditions in this group of States would reveal the reasons for the movement northward. Ever since the Civil War, there has been a steady migration of Negroes from the South to the West and to the North. In 1916-17 the movement became so large that it attracted the nation's attenion.

Of the 364 girls at Public School 119, 53 were born in the West Indies, and with the exception of one girl, both parents of these 53 girls were also born there. This seems to indicate that the immigration of the West Indian with his family is of comparatively recent occurrence. In the Columbus Hill District, the investigator found that of the 2,780 colored people interviewed, 1,684 were of foreign birth. As in North Harlem, the majority of the immigrants are from the British Indian Islands, with the Danish group coming next. In North Harlem there were a number of Bermudans, and Columbus Hill had two native South Africans who had sought improved conditions in a number of countries before trying America. These foreigners, like the Southern immigrants, are seeking greater opportunity, the difference between them being that the West Indian leaves home with the industrial opportunity looming largest in his hopes, while the Southern immigrant finds much industrial opportunity at home, but more unbearable social conditions.

To understand the West Indian child, one must know that under the Colonial Governments a good deal of freedom existed for the native blacks. As far as possible on small islands, people engage in agricultural pursuits; they are also tradesmen, store keepers, mechanics, doctors, teachers, lawyers and in a few instances judges and high government officials. The opportunities, however, are limited. The schools of the island have been conducted by churches with state aid. Recently government schools have taken precedence over the other schools. Mrs. McDougald has heard parents state that they have brought their children to the States because the compulsory education laws have not been strictly enforced. She has shown that such a child coming to the New York schools is handicapped, especially in the subjects of American history, and in arithmetic because he has never studied percentage, decimals, and has computed concrete problems only in English money. Also these children are handicapped because the Island system is somewhat different. Moreover they come without credentials testifying to the amount of work done. They are thus forced to accept demotion though very well equipped in other subjects.

The West Indian comes therefore mainly for industrial opportunity. He makes, in most cases, a thrifty progressive citizen. He is, however, most impatient with social conditions. Up until the end of the World War, he felt himself proud to be a British subject, etc., and assumed an attitude of superiority toward the American born colored man. There has, however, been a loss of confidence in the mother countries brought about by the rude awakening which closer touch in the army compelled. Americanization of these foreigners, of that class composed formerly of agricultural workers, etc., is an outstanding need of many West Indian families.

13. THE FUTURE

Here then in New York is a striking ex-

ample of what organized citizenry standing back of specialized, trained intelligence can do toward helping the state meet the needs of a group. It is a model for other cities in co-operation in overcoming some of the difficulties. The work is not finished—constant and constructive effort is necessary—other workers must be trained. Let the school system by all means remain open to all, democratic and without discrimination and with the one idea of developing the child and not simply of feeding industry as it is. Let field work be done so that industry will be more hospitable to the coming generation of colored teachers. Let the courses be broadened rather than restricted; and above all by just treatment keep up the ambition and courage of the colored child in the years of his life when these are most likely to lag.

CONGRESSMAN DYER VISITS MANILA

MAJOR W. H. LOVING

CONGRESSMAN L. C. DYER of Missouri was the recipient of much attention while on his recent tour of the Orient. At Manila he was the special guest of the Philippine Legislature on the afternoon of his arrival, on which occasion he addressed them on the subject most dear to the hearts of all Filipinos—independence.

On the following day the American Chamber of Commerce gave a luncheon in his honor, and in the afternoon he was the guest of Major Walter Howard Loving, who escorted him through the industrial department of "Bilibid" (the insular prison), ending with the retreat ceremonies, in which every inmate of the prison participated. Receptions were given him by the President of the Philippine Senate, Honorable Manuel L. Quezon, and by the Club Carambola, the club élite of the Filipinos.

But the event of most concern to the colored people of America was the reception of a delegation of colored citizens of the U. S. resident in the Philippines, arranged for by Major Loving in the reception room of the Manila Hotel. On this occasion each member of the delegation was presented to Congressman Dyer by Major Loving, and Mr. John W. Calloway read and presented him the following memorial:—

"Congressman Dyer: We have come as a committee of the colored citizens of the United States resident in Manila, to pay our respects to you, and express in their behalf, our high appreciation and heartfelt thanks to you for your efforts in the American Congress toward having the bill known as the Dyer Anti-lynching Bill, of which you are the author, enacted into law. This we do, not alone because we are members of the race this law is designed more especially to protect, but because we are equally interested in the good name and honor of the great nation to which we and you belong.

"We have long resided here in the Far East and are too painfully aware of the shocking impression created among the inhabitants of these regions by the frequent Associated Press reports of lynching orgies which, as Congressman Burton has so fittingly said, are excelled in downright depravity and brutality only by the hideous rites of cannibalism. So we beseech you, upon your return to America, to redouble your efforts to have the Dyer Bill become the law of the land to the end that the stigma of lynching may be removed from the fair name of the great American nation.

"Congressman Dyer, from our hearts we thank you."

John W. Calloway Maj. W. H. Loving
W. A. Caldwell R. B. Cabbell
R. G. Woods

In order that Mr. Dyer might have something to remind him of his visit to Manila, the delegation presented him with a cane, the product of the art work of the Igorotes of the mountain tribe. The presentation was made by Major Loving in the following words:

"Congressman Dyer: This committee wishes to thank you for the work you are doing for the sake of humanity, and trusts that your efforts will not cease until the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill shall have passed both legislative bodies of our great Republic. And should you become old and feeble

from your arduous labors, we have provided for you this little souvenir, designed and carved by the Igorotes of the Mountain Province, which we hope will serve you as a prop after you shall have reached your four score years and twenty.

"God bless you, good luck, and bon voyage."

This cane was a beautiful specimen of hand carving and bore the following engraving:

"To Congressman, Honorable L. C. Dyer,
Recuerdos de Filipinos"

In response Mr. Dyer said:

"It is with the greatest pleasure that I meet you here, my fellow countrymen, such a distance from the land of our birth. Your actions give me courage to further the work in the American Congress which you have made the especial subject of your interview this evening.

"With the assistance of Dr. DuBois, Mr. James W. Johnson, and many others of both races, we were able to get the Dyer Anti-lynching Bill through the House of Representatives; and had it not been for the filibustering of certain members of the Senate, the bill would have become a law at this session.

"I am of the opinion that we will not be successful at this session. But I pledge you that as long as I am a member of Congress, the bill will be re-introduced at each session until it passes both houses.

"Gentlemen, I thank you for your presence here, and I thank you for this beautiful token of your appreciation of my efforts in the behalf of humanity."

DARK DREAM

CLARA G. STILLMAN

IN a cold white land
I dreamed of warmth and darkness.
In a cold white land.

I stayed in the cold white land
But yet I traveled far;
Breathlessly I followed
A sombre-gleaming star
I lost it, I found it,
I saw what none could see,
Ways of golden beauty
Opened up for me.

Oh, beauty unknown, unguessed and unregarded,
Beauty flowering and burning behind white veils of silence!

There speech is music,
There dark eyes shine
Like velvet petals
In a golden wine.
There are ways of langour,
There glances caress,
There laughter wells a fountain
Of divine childlikeness.
There old Sorrow sits in the shade
With newborn Bitterness.

But sorrow and laughter and slave toil and free
Wove a web of music that hung from every tree,
Wove an ancient rhythm and a new way of seeing,
Wove a dance of atoms in the dim core of being.
I was close to earth then,
I had gone back.
Something lost ages since—
I was on the track
Of an old, strange loveliness.
Oh my eyes were clear!
I could feel, I could see
Beauty everywhere.

But just as I saw it
All of it was gone.
In a moon-drowned forest
I stood all alone.
Moon beams bleaching
Dead stalks of trees,
Night owls screeching
In a clammy breeze.
In the silver moon light
I could not see my star.
In the thorny fastness
I could not travel far. . . .

In a cold white land
I tried to tell my dream of warmth and darkness.
In a cold white land.

The Horizon

Madame Hackley

¶ Emma Azalia Hackley's life is a story of lofty purposes and brilliant achievement. She was born in 1867 in Murfreesboro, Tenn., but was reared and educated in Detroit. Here she taught for a while but at the same time devoted herself to music. In 1894 she married Edwin H. Hackley and moved to Denver, Colorado. Unusual opportunities for musical development met her here; not only was she graduated with honor from the College of Music of the University of Denver, but she became assistant director of the largest white choral society in the city. In 1901 she and her husband removed to Philadelphia, whence after numerous concert tours she made three trips to Europe for purposes of study and inspiration. Madame Hackley's work was essentially constructive. She took especial interest in founding and directing colored choral societies and folk-song choruses. Her many inspiring talks to young people on the subject of music will long be remembered. It was she who undertook the raising of scholarship funds to send colored artists abroad. Both Clarence White and Carl Diton gratefully acknowledge her aid in pursuing their studies in Europe. Madame Hackley kept up her active, useful career almost unto the end. She is survived by her husband, Edwin Hackley, and her sister, Mrs. Marietta Johnson of Detroit.

¶ The death of Cassius M. Brown, Sr., closes the interesting and eventful career of one of the most useful citizens of Harrisburg, Pa. Mr. Brown was born in 1844, and outside of a few years spent in the public schools of New York, devoted his entire life to the civic and social activities of Harrisburg. From 1890 to 1894 he was a member of the old common council in the city. In the State constitutional convention of 1872-74, he was assistant sergeant-at-arms. In 1896, the Carlisle Presbytery elected him a commissioner to the Presbyterian General Assembly, the first Negro thus honored in the Presbytery. He was a charter member of Capital Street Presbyterian Church, a member of the Sunday School since its organization in 1855, assistant superintendent for thirty-six years, superintendent for six years and superintendent emeritus since 1918. He was also ruling elder of this church and clerk of the sessions since 1878. At one time he was publisher and associate editor of *National Progress*. Six children revere his memory.

¶ Moses H. Jones, who died recently in Dayton, Ohio, divided his life between the law and the army. His early training was received in Wayland Seminary, Washington, D. C., and after a brief career as a teacher he entered Howard University. Subsequently he practiced law in Charleston, W. Va., but gave up his practice at the outbreak of the Spanish-American War and entered the army. At the close of the war he opened up his law offices again, this time in Dayton. Here he was most active in civic and fraternal affairs, a member of many lodges and associations, including the Montgomery County Bar Association. For

Cassius M. Brown

Moses H. Jones

Cromwell P. West | Rev. T. Newton Brown | Rev. I. K. Merchant | James A. Scott

four years he was the State Grand Legal Adviser of the Knights of Pythias. When the Great War broke out Attorney Jones, finding enlistment at his age impossible, offered his services successfully as salesman and speaker for the several Liberty Loan campaigns. He was fifty years old when he died and is survived by his wife and two sisters.

¶ Newport, R. I., has elected a colored councilman, Cromwell P. West. Mr. West, who is the grandson of W. H. Cromwell, and the grand-nephew of Professor John Cromwell of Washington, D. C., was born in Philadelphia in 1891. He was educated in Newport, at Howard University and in the Rhode Island College of Pharmacy whence he was graduated in 1916. Mr. West has two drugstores in Newport and one in Jamestown, R. I. He is keenly interested in athletics and fraternal societies and has been president of the local branch of the N. A. A. C. P.

¶ Turrialba training school in Turrialba, Costa Rica, is a monument to the life and activities of Rev. T. Newton Brown, D.D., who died there recently. For fifty-three years this minister devoted his life to the needs of the West Indies and of Central America. He was born and educated in Jamaica, was graduated from Calabar College and spent 15 years as minister first at Yallahus Baptist Church and then at Annotto Bay Church. He was always a leader in the civic and social life of his parish and was a member both of the Turrialba Town School Board and the Board of the Coöperative Loan Bank. In 1917 he was made General Superintendent of Missions for Central America under the Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention. His headquarters were at Turrialba but he ministered to six "outstations," holding services in Spanish and English and directing the work of elementary schools connected with these parishes. His greatest and dearest achievement was the founding and managing of the Turrialba Training School which is the only English secondary school in Costa Rica.

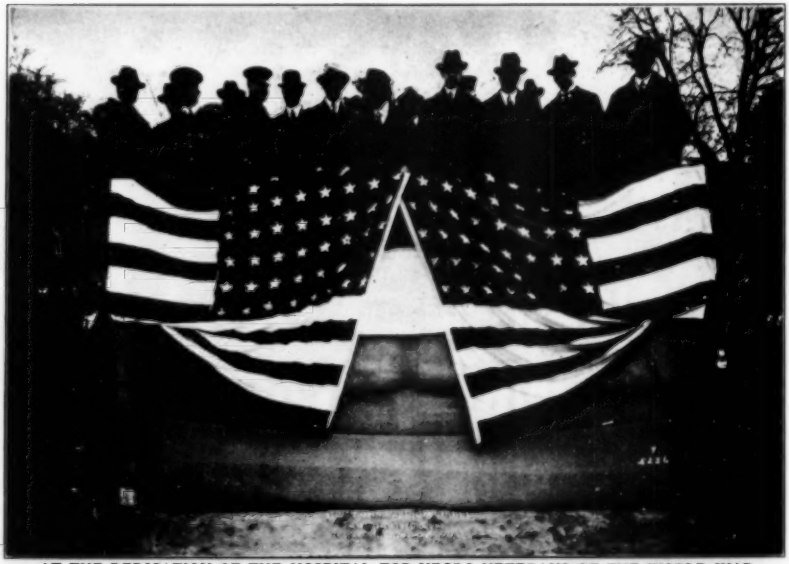
¶ Rev. Irving K. Merchant is pastor of Mount Zion Congregational Church, Cleveland, O., which recently celebrated its fifty-fifth anniversary. The church was organized September 11th, 1864, in the Plymouth Congregational Church, with nineteen members under the leadership of Mr. Edward Woodliff. It has the distinction of being the only church among thirty-five that started as a Congregational church, and from its beginning has been self-supporting. The church has had as minister some of the ablest men in the denomination, who have exerted a distinct leavening force in the religious life of the colored people. Under the wise and courageous leadership of Mr. Merchant the church is enjoying prosperity and continues to enjoy the honor of being the strongest church of its fellowship in the middle west. To meet the greatly increased population brought on by the war the church is planning a new building to house certain of the social activities. Efforts are now being made to raise $14,500 for the purchase of a new site two miles east of its present location. Rev. H. H. Proctor of Brooklyn preached the anniversary sermon.

¶ Few people are aware that the author of the law work on Inter-State Rendition (Extradition), considered the finest authority on its subject in the U. S., was the late James Alexander Scott, a colored man. His legal career began early. He was born in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1864, but received his education at Marysville College

BETHEL A. M. E. CHURCH, CHICAGO

in Tennessee. For a few years he taught school and then was admitted to the Bar in Mississippi where he was elected clerk of the Circuit Court at Sardis. In 1890 he was admitted to the Bar of Illinois. For four years he was Assistant State's Attorney, in charge of the Department of Extradition. He became a candidate for Congress in the first Congressional District of Illinois in 1918, making a remarkable race against great odds; again in 1920 he ran for the office of Municipal Judge of Chicago, but again lost the nomination by a comparatively small margin. This same year, however, he again was made Assistant State's Attorney in charge of the Department of Extradition and Habeas Corpus. His knowledge of the law, coupled with his love of justice, made him an untiring worker in racial matters as was witnessed by his efforts in the trial of the Race Riot cases in 1919.

¶ The congregation of Bethel A. M. E. Church of Chicago has purchased through its trustees and pastor, the Rev. C. M. Tanner, D.D., an immense five-story church and institution building. In addition to an auditorium which seats 2,500 people the church is equipped with a large gymnasium, swimming pool, and rooms to rent for office and for institutional work. This is to be the receiving station for the Negro migrant. There will be a dispensary, a night school, an employment office, a day nursery, an athletic club and other institutional activities. Dr. Tanner writes: "Bethel Labor Exchange is arranging to place hundreds of honest, industrious men and women of our race in good paying positions such as workers in steel mills, cement works, railroad shops, on farms, on wharves, and in domestic service. We do not want any but honest, healthy men and women. But no one must come until he has written to us and received a reply and been given full



AT THE DEDICATION OF THE HOSPITAL FOR NEGRO VETERANS OF THE WORLD WAR

instructions so he may go to work at once. We will not receive any persons who have not first written and brought with them a Work Card, signed by Bethel Labor Exchange. Always enclose a 2c stamp for reply. Address all letters to Bethel Church Employment Bureau, 42 and Grand Boulevard."

¶ Mr. and Mrs. James Marshall Poole of Staten Island, N. Y., recently celebrated their fiftieth wedding anniversary at the Church of the Ascension Parish House, West New Brighton. The renewal of the marriage vows was made at the altar, the Rev. Pascal Harrower officiating, assisted By Rev. C. Canterbury Corbin of Asbury Park. Over two hundred friends and relatives were present.

Mr. and Mrs. J. M. Poole

¶ A $2,000,000 hospital for Negro World War Veterans has been erected by the United States government at Tuskegee. It is composed of 27 permanent buildings, and provides accommodation for 600 patients. Among those who participated in the ceremony of dedication which took place on Lincoln's birthday, were Dr. Moton, Vice-President Coolidge, Governor Brandon of Alabama, Hon. Edward Clifford, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, Dr. W. C. White, General Robert E. Stiner, and Roger E. Macdonald, a disabled Negro who is being rehabilitated at Tuskegee Institute. Mr. Macdonald said: "It was a marvelous thing for the Negro race, itself so long oppressed, to have an opportunity to help save others from oppression, and let it be said to the eternal credit of the Negro soldiers that they made good that opportunity."

¶ Clark University, under the direction of President Simmons has installed a moving picture machine at a cost of nearly a thousand dollars. It is one of the best machines in Atlanta, and the pictures are of the highest type. Friday night in each week is "Movie Night." This institution

CHARLES RAY AND CHARLES GILPIN

has also a spacious gymnasium and a swimming pool.

¶ Through the efforts of Noah D. Thompson of the Los Angeles *Express* a meeting was arranged between two great artists—Charles Ray of the screen and Charles Gilpin of the speaking stage. The two are shown in Mr. Ray's studio.

¶ The New Star Building and Loan Association Building of Toledo, Ohio, houses the first such organization among Negroes in the state. The Association was incorporated November, 1913, with an authorized capital stock of $100,000 of which $50,000 has already been subscribed. Business in the new quarters has tripled itself and has received special mention in the "Talk Toledo" Campaign. Many business and fraternal institutions are grouped under this roof.

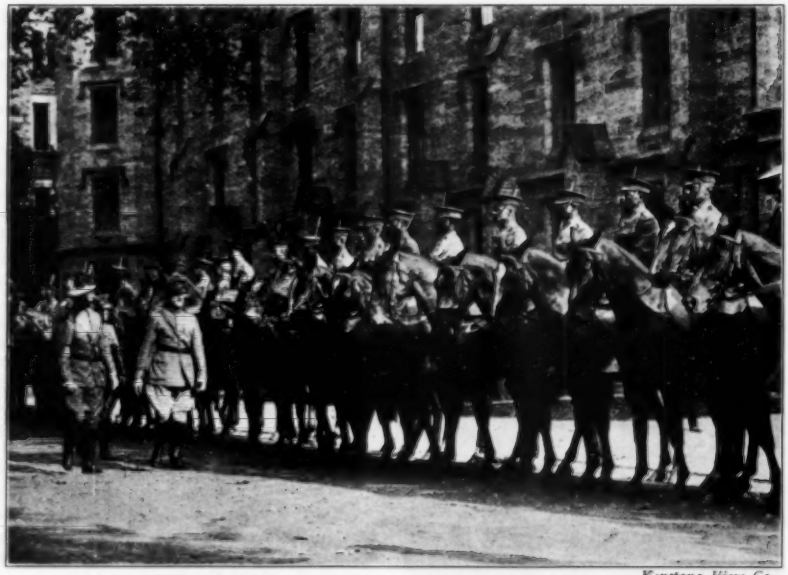
¶ Mrs. Hallie B. Craigwell, formerly Visiting Teacher of P. S. 119, Manhattan, has been appointed by the Board of Education, Visiting Teacher to all the schools of the 15th and 16th districts, Manhattan. The problems referred to Mrs. Craigwell for adjustment are scholarship, behavior, home conditions, and all miscellaneous problems which tend to retard the systematic and normal development of the school child.

¶ The Community Service has extended its work for Negroes to Hampton and Norfolk, Va.; Moline, Ill.; Marion, Elkhart, and Richmond, Ind.; Kansas City, Mo.; San Francisco, Cal.; Annapolis, Md.; Cincinnati, Dayton, and Hamilton, Ohio; Des Moines, Ia.; New Haven, Conn.; Wilmington, Del.; Greenville, S. C.; and Kalamazoo, Mich. Playgrounds and play streets have been secured in these cities, public baths established, and information bureaus, forums, etc., organized.

¶ The Tau Chapter of Kappa Alpha Psi a national Negro college fraternity, has been established at the West Virginia Collegiate Institute, Institute, West Virginia. This increases the number of under-graduate chapters to 19. There are 12 alumni chapters situated in as many cities.

¶ Coöperation among Negro farmers in Alabama is meeting with success. In Nichburg community, 15 farmers organized in 1920 and placed $10 each in the treasury to buy tools with which to keep up repairs about the farms and homes and to make simple equipment. Similar workshops were organized in Coffee and Lee counties. Members spend rainy days and spare hours at the workshop, doing black-

HEADQUARTERS OF THE STAR BUILDING AND LOAN ASSOCIATION, TOLEDO



Keystone View Co.

COLORED CAVALRY TROOPS REVIEWED BY GENERAL PERSHING

smithing, harness repairing, horseshoeing and carpentry work. The Nichburg coöperative workshop reported the estimated value of work done by members last year as $355, including cash repairing done for non-members amounting to $150.

¶ At the Lafayette-Marne Day Celebration at West Point Military Academy, colored cavalry troops were reviewed by General John J. Pershing. Other prominent military and naval officials also took part in the ceremonies.

¶ On the 5th and 6th of April there will be held in Baltimore the Spring Conference of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History directed by Dr. C. G. Woodson. The program will cover two days and will offer an opportunity for the discussion of every phase of Negro life and history. All persons having documentary knowledge of phases of Negro History prior to the Civil War and during the Reconstruction period are asked to attend this Conference to devise plans for a more successful prosecution of this particular work. Another concern of the Conference will be to stimulate interest in the collection of Negro folklore for which there is offered a prize of $200 for the best collection of tales, riddles, proverbs, sayings and songs, which have been heard in Negro homes. This special work is under the supervision of a committee composed of Dr. Elsie Clews Parsons, Assistant Editor of the *Journal of American Folklore*, Dr. Franz Boas, Professor of Anthropology in Columbia University and Dr. Carter G. Woodson.

¶ Alpha Beta Chapter of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority announces a prize essay and short story contest open to the High School girls of greater New York. The essay shall not exceed 1500 words, and must be on either of the following subjects:

1. American Negro in the Fine Arts.
2. Contributions of Negro Women to Racial Progress.

The short story must have a background of either racial or local life, and must not exceed 3000 words. All papers must be neatly written in ink or typed, on one side of the paper only. Manuscripts may be mailed at any time before May 10th, 1923, to Miss Jessie Fauset, THE CRISIS, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City. A prize of $10 in gold will be awarded the author of the best essay and the same amount to the writer of the best short story.

SEMI-PEONAGE IN PANAMA

G. Victor Cools

THE Panama Canal is a phenomenal success. As an engineering feat it far surpasses anything of this kind ever undertaken by man. One cannot describe adequately this gigantic structure. To be able to appreciate its immensity, as a product of the human mind, one must visit the Panama Canal Zone. No other achievement of modern times so forcefully attests the genius of the American people. And yet were it not for the sturdy black men of the West Indies there would be no Panama Canal. This supreme engineering accomplishment should be regarded as a monument to the intellect of the American engineers, and to the physical prowess and mental alertness of the West Indian blacks. It was they who made possible the construction of the canal.

When the first group of American engineers landed in Panama in 1904, they found there a nucleus of efficient black men—artisans and laborers—who were originally identified with the French Canal Company. A number of these men occupied positions of trust in the office personnel of the company, while in the field of construction they held positions ranging from superintendent of construction to skilled mechanics and shopmen. The usefulness of these men was immediately recognized by these American pioneers, consequently, they were allowed to serve in their various capacities. They worked side by side with the black men in their offices, shops, and in the field of construction. No resentment was felt by them. Perhaps it was because they came from New England and other northern states.

The white men who came later supplemented rather than supplanted the colored workers. With this force of blacks, along with those who came later both as imported and independent immigrants, the deadly malaria and yellow fevers were successfully combatted and put under control. It was not until this perilous task had been accomplished that the product of Southern chivalry came. This incident reminds the writer of a similar situation. When the United States declared war against the Central Powers and called for volunteers, the flower of New England manhood rushed to defend the Nation's flag, but nothing was seen of the chivalrous Southern youths until the selective draft forced them to come forward.

The Southerners came when the dangers were over. They came by the hundred, then by the thousand. Panama was a new El Dorado. Wages were high, and the only expense which they had to bear was that incident to board, and they got that at reduced rates. Furnished houses, fuel, transportation, amusements, janitor's service, everything was furnished them free. Panama was indeed a gold mine. At first these Southerners were quiet. No objection was raised to the presence of the black men. It was not that they approved it. The fact is, they were too weak to protest. It must be remembered that some of them came without even a change of linen. They were not long in showing their fangs, these southern snakes. When they had fed and clothed themselves and had become strong, they began to growl. The canal authorities felt that they had to be placated. And so the black men who were in the most important positions were surreptitiously removed. Those whose places could not be conveniently filled were retained. The artisans and shopmen were given another designation. From skilled mechanics they came to be known as helpers. As helpers they did the work while the men they were supposed to help looked on.

In the meantime the sinister influence of the Southern gentlemen was manifesting itself in another direction. Suddenly they felt that the black men were not reliable. To supply themselves with reliable laborers they imported first, Russian, and, later, laborers from southern Europe. These, however, proved to be less responsible than the blacks. They were not physically able to withstand the harsh climate. Those who survived became unmanageable. Grudgingly they acknowledged their mistakes and,

before long, went back to the black laborers.

The European laborers that they imported did not give any satisfaction in the work in which some degree of skill was to be exercised. It was out of the question to try to induce them to undertake a piece of work in which there was some element of danger. The reckless abandonment with which the blacks tackled these hazardous jobs commanded the admiration of even the white tyrants of the South. A day never dawned that the life blood of a black laborer did not sprinkle the soil of the canal. Their blood mixed with the mortar and cement to make them more cohesive, and the massive walls of the locks and dams more secure. And then the end came. They saw their efforts and sacrifices translated into the greatest success of the age. Was it not human for them to expect some kind of consideration from the Panama authorities?

The wave of high prices which swept over the world also affected the canal workers. To meet the increased prices of commodities, the wages and salaries of the white men were raised. These men, it will be remembered, were already enjoying privileges in the shape of gratuitous houses, fuel, transportation, amusements, etc. However, the authorities did not feel that the wages and salaries of the blacks called for any such consideration. With an increase in the prices of ordinary necessities ranging from 200 to 400 per cent, an increase in salary of two to three per cent was allowed the black workers. Orderly representations to the responsible heads availed nothing. Organization as the logical and effective means of obtaining relief was resorted to. A local organization was effected which subsequently affiliated itself with the "United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers," with headquarters in Detroit.

The delegates sent down to organize them collected $125,000 from them, and left with all kinds of assurances and promises of support in the event of trouble, promises which were never meant to be kept. Feeling assured of the support of the brotherhood, the men went on strike for more equitable compensation. That was in 1920. To render the strike ineffective, that is, to break it, the Metal Trades Council, a labor organization which comprises all the white working men on the Panama Canal, along with their wives and children, mothers and sweethearts, became scabs. They offered their services to Governor Harding, who readily accepted. They immediately filled the vacancies left by the striking blacks. With the assistance of the officials of the Panama Republic native laborers were corralled to do the laborers work.

The strike was broken; but at a tremendous loss to the government. It is said that the loss sustained through the misappropriation of goods by the scabs amounted to thousands of dollars. The minimum salary paid those who filled the places of the clerks was $100 a month, while the maximum salary paid the colored men was $60. The men were told they could return to work. The administration took this opportunity to cut its labor force to the minimum. In spite of the invitation to return to work the most courageous of the blacks refused to return. As a measure of reprisal the governor ordered the effects of every striker, who occupied government quarters, to be thrown out. The police and soldiery rudely violated the privacy of the people's homes, threw everything out—their wives and children along with the furniture. W men who were in delicate state of maternity received less consideration than would have been accorded beasts. It is said that several women gave birth to infants while they were being driven out.

Not satisfied with the brutal attack upon the helpless people, Governor Harding, it is said, ordered the authorities of the Panama Republic to keep the fugitives out of Panamanian territory. As a compromise the government of Panama imposed a $500 revenue tax upon the already destitute people before they were allowed to enter the City of Panama.

The men went back to work; that is, those who, on account of the responsibilities of a large family, were not financially able to return to their native homes. They were re-employed at a reduced rate of pay. The present wage scale is so low that the poor blacks are barely able to ward off starvation. To them working for the Panama Canal is a matter of compulsion. They have either to accept the low wages or get out. Imagine a man with a family of, usually, four to six children making two ends meet on an income of $40 to $60 a

month. How much can he save from that to enable him to transport this large family to his native home? It is out of the question to quit. The only economic activities are conducted by the Canal Zone authorities. To him there is no outlet. The paltry and niggardly wage at least keeps him and his family half-fed. And so, with bitterness in his heart, and a curse on the heads of the American people for having enslaved him, he carries on.

The argument which the canal authorities advance for justifying the payment of such low wages to the black working men is interesting to say the least. They will tell you, if you were to ask anyone of them, the "Niggers" can live on what is paid them; that's enough to keep them happy; and their standard of living is so low that they can get along on what they are getting. Facts, however, don't bear out their argument. In the first place, the needs for mere subsistence of these working men are never met no matter how frugal they may be. They and their families are undernourished. In the second place, people who are forced to live with the elemental wants half-satisfied cannot be happy. A satisfied group of workers do not go on strike for a decent living wage. Finally, the standard of living of the people is low because their tyrannical masters so wish it. They did not deliberately choose that low standard of living. Can a high standard of living be maintained on a $60 a month income?

So much emphasis is laid on the question of the lower standard of living of the blacks that a little light thrown on the situation down there will help to clarify the matter. Here is the truth about the situation: The black employees procure their necessaries from the same source from which the whites purchase theirs—the government commissaries. They pay generally more for the same kind of commodities than the whites pay. For their shelter they pay the same rent that the whites pay and receive absolutely inferior quarters. While the quarters occupied by the whites are provided with all the modern conveniences, the blacks, paying the same amount for theirs, have none generally. They are forced to use community toilets, baths, and washing sheds. There is little or no privacy in connection with these community affairs. For example, the toilet and bath of men and women are under the same roof with simply a low partition between them; these conditions certainly do not foster high standards.

There are a few black Americans in the employment of the Panama Canal. These fare a trifle better than their brothers from the Islands. Their wages are higher and their quarters a little more adequate. Nevertheless, the wages which they receive never equal that which the whites receive for the same kind of work. They have to submit to the humiliating discriminations which the others suffer. It is made known to them by inference that the Canal Zone is a white man's territory.

The reference made in the preceding paragraph to discrimination has served to arouse in the mind of the writer certain facts concerning the peculiar form of discrimination practiced by the Canal Zone officials. With them, theoretically, discrimination is not based on color. In the southern sections of the United States one sees conspicuously displayed in public places and semi-public places "for white" and "for colored" signs. Although the Canal Zone represents the transplanting from Georgia, Alabama, Texas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, etc., of the very worst form of race hatred which these states can boast of, these signs have not made their appearance there. Instead of them, the eyes of the visitor are arrested by "For Gold" and "For Silver" signs. It must not be inferred that certain classes of the canal employees are gold-made and others silver-made. The fact is, the discrimination is based on the kind of money in which the employees receive their remuneration. All citizens of the United States are paid in gold, that is, in the legal tender of the United States. All black employees and the unskilled European laborers are paid in silver, that is, in the currency of the Republic of Panama. The white men are known as "gold" employees and the black men as "silver" employees. Although the black Americans are paid in gold they are barred from the places where the white "gold" men go. On

this basis, then, the United States has established and perpetuated a system of "Jim Crow" which is more vile than the worst in Georgia or Texas. Thus in the post office, for example, the "silver" man cannot go to the same window from which a white man is served, to purchase his stamps. He may do so, but at his peril. On the Canal Zone a black man's life is less secure than it is in Georgia and Texas.

The same situation obtains in all the other branches of the Canal Zone service. Separate commissaries, club houses, churches, Y. M. C. A.'s, restaurants, theatres, etc., for gold and silver are maintained. In the hospitals there are the "gold" wards and the "silver" wards. The division in the hospitals is three-fold. There is a ward for the "gold" white American, one for the "gold" foreign white employee, and for the "silver" man there is one. A Negro employee occupying a bed in the "silver" ward overheard the superintendent of one of the hospitals say to the physician in charge, not to give a certain kind of medicine to the "Niggers" as it was too expensive. It should be reserved for the whites. Give them something else—poison, perhaps. White nurses are said to take great delight in "slapping" the helpless Negro patients "for talking back to a white woman." A young physician from New England resigned from the staff of Ancon Hospital because he could not be a party to the brutality of his colleagues.

The evil effect of forced idleness, low wages, absence of privacy in the home, are manifested in the lives of the unfortunate people. As might be expected, immorality is rampant. The families that are able to rent two rooms are very few in number. A small room which would ill-accommodate the most unpretentious bachelor generally houses a family of four to eight, some of them full-grown young women. The absence of privacy in the home and the deep wounds inflicted by the fangs of abject poverty drive these young women—most of them not quite past the age of sixteen—to prostitute their bodies in order to appease the gnawing pangs of hunger, and to purchase a bit of rag to cover their nakedness. Marriage has little or no part in their lives. Illegitimacy is socially approved. Children born of wedlock are as scarce as Christians in a Persian harem.

With thousands of men out of work, most of them with dependents, one is tempted to ask: How do they live? Indeed it is not surprising to find, on inquiry, that some of these men have not done a stroke of work in two years. Yet they live and multiply. They seem to have created a philosophy of their own in regard to reproduction. We cannot get work, but we can have children, therefore, let us have them in large numbers. And so, in the section in which these indigent people live one sees nothing but half-starved children and indolent dogs.

It must not be inferred that the largeness of the family, on the one hand, and the abject poverty in which they are submerged, on the other, cause the parents to be negligent. On the whole, cases of willful negligence are proportionally small. There is an appreciation of the responsibility for the welfare of their children which is highly commendable. There is a spiritual beauty in the manner in which these people extend a helping hand to one another. A part of the beggarly wages, of those who are fortunate enough to be working, goes to relieve the destitute conditions of their friends across the way. These poor fellows could no more think of sitting down and enjoying a meal when their friends and their friends' children were hungry than Christ Himself would. Here one sees a true manifestation of the Christ spirit—the spirit of self-denial.

Life in Panama would be colorless were it not for the fact that everybody, young and middle-aged, is looking toward America as the promised land. Everybody is hopeful that some day he will get out and go north to the land of opportunity. It is doubtful, however, whether any large number of them will ever see the promised land. With the steamship companies charging prohibitive fares and, some of them, refusing to furnish accommodation to black people, the reluctance of the authorities to issue passports to the United States, one may reasonably say that the great majority of them will spend their last days under the yoke of tyranny of the Bourbons of the South sanctioned by the United States Government.

The Looking Glass

LITERATURE

COUNTEE P. CULLEN In "Telling Tales":

("And at dusk on the following day, the prince came to the foot of the tower and cried:

'Rapunzel, Rapunzel,
Let down your golden hair.'")

Love to love must make its stair
Out of wind and mad desire;
Love, let down your tangled hair.

Rose and rambling bud may fare
Climbing veins of living wire;
Love to love must make its stair.

Silken webs of light to snare
Soul and body to your hire,
Love, let down your tangled hair.

Lark and swallow, pair by pair,
Wing their way while I aspire;
Love to love must make its stair.

Heaven drops no ladder where
Feet of mine sink down in mire;
Love, let down your tangled hair.

Trembling on my lips a prayer,
Let me rise to you through fire:
Love to love must make its stair;
Love, let down your tangled hair.

* * *

"When Black Meets White" (Argyle Publishers, Chicago), by John Louis Hill, A.M., B.D., discusses the following topics: "The Race Problem", "America Inside", "Mistakes of South and North", "Psychology of the Negro", "The Negro in History", "A Half Century of Progress", "Characteristic Contribution", "Some Outstanding Examples", "America's Need of the Negro", "Social Equality", "Amalgamation", "The New Freedom", "Working Out His Own Salvation", "The Individual Negro" and "Theory and Practice". A review of this book will appear in a later issue of THE CRISIS.

REAPING THE WHIRLWIND

THE Apostle James might well have been thinking of Thomas Dixon, when he wrote, "Behold how great a matter, a little fire kindleth." The New Orleans *Item* says:

One of the grislier humors of the Ku Klux discussion is supplied by that reverend melodramatist and literary mountebank, Thomas Dixon, the author and performer of "The Clansman," and other resurrections of a bitter and turbulent past that should have remained in its grave.

He is quoted in serious and savage attacks upon the child of his own child, all in the impressive language that a born melodramatist knows how to use. It is very unfatherly of him, however, to berate the Ku Klux Klan. It is the lineal offspring of his own Clansman.

It was his own Clansman that foreshadowed to the emotionalism of Wizard Simmons' type the organization that the reverend melodramatist now denounces. It was the trouping of the country with this wretched melodrama, its excitement of the dormant passions of theatre mobs, its flaunting of the prejudice of white against black, its thinly-veiled rape upon white innocence by black brutality well nigh in view of the thrilling audience—it was nothing but year after year of this sort of evil agitation that gave Mr. Simmons and his first associates their original idea, and what is more important, their original belief that they could exploit and control the sleeping devils that Mr. Dixon had awakened.

* * *

"The Clansman" was a sinister prophecy:

The writer recalls very clearly the threadbare fictions of "The Negro Menace" and "White Supremacy," and all the rest of the twaddle in which the reverend blood-and-thunderer defended his first performances against sensible criticism. But when all was said, the fact was clear:

> He had successfully capitalized a prejudice. He had made money by playing to hatred and the baser passions of the unreasoning side of man.

There was no more Negro menace then than there is today. There is no more today than there was then. No manifestation in the Negro life of the nation, or any part of it, either then or now, requires red fire and masks, for the protection of the white race or any other legitimate object.

The reverend gentleman's own confession comes late. For his denunciation of the masked organization that springs from his own well-paid inspiration is a confession. He is now fleeing from a crop for which he sowed the seed. He is now trying to maintain a respectability that his blood kinship to his ill-begotten grandchild does not entitle him.

He presents a ghastly picture.

He is learning in his own case that the evil that men do lives after them.

When the unrest and turbulence of this era of passion and prejudice are recorded, of this period of resurrection for dead hates and buried bitterness, are all entered in the chronicles of our time, for occasional reference by the few men and women who look for the thread of things beyond their favorite newspaper, Mr. Dixon's ghost is going to find his name as prominent as that of

some evil Abou Ben Adhem. It is going to lead all the rest.

If not, the scribes have lost the trick of writing history.

MIGRATION CONTINUES

WHAT does the persistent migration of Negroes from the South portend? The Malden (Mass.) *News* has a word on this phenomenon:

Capitalists who have built mills in the South with the hope of profiting on cheap labor and long hours find themselves not only threatened with federal labor laws for women and children which will put them on an equal footing in that respect with their northern competitors, but they are also concerned over the fact that thousands of Negroes are leaving the South and seeking better pay in the North. It is pretty hard to build up anything permanent on the misfortune and woe of others. With the doors of our country practically shut against immigration, the semi-skilled labor of the South is being sought. The exodus of labor from the states that have always obtained labor free or at a very low figure not only concerns their industries but also the cotton planters. Things go wrong only about so long. When mankind is at work upon some great problem it generally solves itself and then those at work upon it wonder why they hadn't thought of the solution. The Negro soldier played his part well in the great war and he is entitled to some of that emancipation which came to all labor in the way of better pay and better working conditions which we all trust will remain.

* * *

The Johnstown (Pa.) *Democrat* sees this exodus as the direct result of a restricted immigration policy for "the social and economic conditions that face the Negro in the South are no worse now than they have been for years."

* * *

Lester A. Walton gives 14 reasons in the New York *World:*

Unjust treatment.

Failure to secure a square deal in the courts.

Taxation without representation.

Denial of the right to vote through the subterfuge of the white primary.

No legislative representation in the legislative halls of the state and nation.

Inadequate school facilities in the rural school districts.

Inequality of pay of Negro teachers doing the same work as white people.

Poor crops and unjust division of the crops on the tenant plan.

Farming out of convicts to take the place of free laborers.

Lynching and burning of men and women on the slightest pretext, with no immediate relief in sight.

Pernicious activity of night riders who terrorize Negro communities.

A longing for free air.

Relatives who have gone before writing South and telling about real freedom in the North.

The offer of living wages made by labor agents from the North.

MOSLEM OR CHRISTIAN?

BISHOP HARTZELL, a Methodist missionary to Africa, declares that the great question for the future is whether the dark continent is to be Moslem or Christian. The Minneapolis (Minn.) *Journal* says:

Great Britain, France and Portugal divide today the sovereignty of black Africa, that area extending south of the Mediterranean strip. They are the mediums of white civilization and modern science and utility. They have their function, but they will pass. The Negro all over the Continent is learning from them, and he is avid to learn. Moreover, according to the Bishop, he has the capacity to learn and to practice what he learns.

The Bishop, who has had wide experience with African Negroes, perhaps knows as much about their capacity as do anthropologists who have never set foot in Africa. He avers that a great Negro civilization once flourished in Africa, and his opinion is supported somewhat by the newest discoveries. It is a fact that the Negroes never passed through the stone age. Immemorially they seem to have understood the smelting of iron, which abounds in Africa. So that while the European was fighting with stone hatchets and using bone fish hooks, the African was killing wild beasts with iron-barbed spears and using iron vessels in his home.

The African Negro is doubling his numbers every fifty years or so. He numbers already a hundred or a hundred and twenty million souls. He is as prolific as are the Chinese or Japanese. If, already within the Union of South Africa he outnumbers the White Man five to one, before long he will be doing so ten to one. The maintenance of a White Man's colony in Africa the Bishop regards as an ultimate impossibility. And if that cannot be done for South Africa, there is no chance of doing it anywhere else.

* * *

Is Islamism or Christianity to animate all this? Islam is already in the lead:

In our time there has occurred a great Moslem missionary wave that has reached throughout Sudan, as far westward as the sources of the Niger and southward as the Equatorial Lakes. As propaganda, that compares to Christian success as a torrent does to ripples.

Perhaps the psychos of the Negro responds to Islam better than to Christianity. One point in the former's favor is that it regards the Negro convert as equal to

Berber or Arab, Turk or Persian. Islam does not draw the color line. The Prophet of Mecca was in one sense the supreme democrat.

* * *

Arnold Toynbee confirms this in the *Asia Magazine:*

Color is a point on which we "Anglo-Saxons" are still particularly intransigent and Moslems from the beginning particularly liberal. I remember being first struck by this in an English educational institution with which I was connected, at which we had two Egyptian students. One of them, who was physically indistinguishable from an Italian or a southern Frenchman, was a commoner in his own country and bore himself with corresponding modesty. The other, who was at least seven-eighths Negro, was a grandee, and you could see by his bearing that he was accustomed to deference and consideration. Since then, I have repeatedly come across examples of this Islamic color-franchise in the East itself—colored Turkish sergeants marching at the head of white Turkish private soldiers, or the coal-black major-domo of an English consul associating with the white notables of a Turkish city. The difference between the Islamic and the "Anglo-Saxon" attitude in this respect is indeed notorious, and the "Latin" variety of westerners, though more liberal than we are, are far from reaching the Moslem standard. The results of this difference are already visible in tropical Africa, which has been opened up during the past 40 years by western initiative, endurance, armaments and manufacturers—but not for Christendom. The majority of the black race in Africa is showing itself cold to the religion of its conquerors and is turning to Islam, whose militant adventurers in central Africa were easily defeated by the European pioneers in the early stages of the competition. Why can the Moslem beat the Christian missionary, when the Christian has beaten the Moslem soldier, merchant and administrator? Confessedly because the Moslem takes the colored convert to his bosom, while the Christian keeps him at arm's length and imparts his creed without opening the doors of his home. If this result, towards which present developments in Africa are tending, does in fact occur, the verdict of unprejudiced observers will be that, at any rate in this instance, it was in virtue of a moral superiority, a more genuine humanism that Islam gained her victory. No doubt this will be a hard doctrine for "Anglo-Saxons" to swallow. Our prejudices are all the other way, and latterly we have been reinforcing these prejudices by theories about the fixity and the fundamental importance of physical race characteristics. We will to believe that mankind is divided into a number of breeds which are unmixed, unmixable and poles asunder in spiritual endowment. Personally, I believe such theories to be unscientific, and I know them to be contrary to historical facts. I am certain that the "Anglo-Saxon" attitude leads toward catastrophe and the Islamic towards salvation.

THE SUPREME COURT AND ARKANSAS

THE decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Arkansas Peonage cases revives among the Southern States the old bogey of more or less continuous federal supervision. The Louisville, Ky., *Courier-Journal* says dubiously:

The decision constitutes, virtually, the chastening of a State by the Federal Government in a case in which there is reason to believe that the State's courts did not deal fairly with defendants charged with murder. . . .

The contention of the State was that its exercise of its police power was not subject to review by the Federal courts, inasmuch as a State in this Union is possessed of sovereignty.

The decision of the Supreme Court, that the contention of the State of Arkansas is untenable, directs the District Federal Court to decide whether the defendants were tried fairly. This amounts to a review of a State court trial by a Federal court, much like a review of a Circuit Court case by a State Court of Appeals to determine whether the record contains error prejudicial to the rights of a convicted defendant.

The principle that the Federal Government may constitute itself a reviewer of the decisions of the criminal courts of States, overruling the authority of State courts of last resort, will, if established, constitute a change hardly less than revolutionary.

The Federal Constitution says that no State shall deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, or deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. But it has been considered that "due process of law" means process of State laws in cases in which dependants are tried for violating State laws.

Doubtless the promoters of the Dyer anti-lynching bill will find consolation in so radical a departure from the rule that the police powers of States is absolute.

* * *

The St. Louis, Mo. *Post-Dispatch* says more bravely:

We dissent from the doctrine of Federal interference in state cases, but there is some ground for satisfaction in the action of the United States Supreme Court, which remanded the cases of Negroes convicted of participation in the Elaine (Ark.) riots. The ground for remanding was that the Negroes were not given a fair hearing.

Fourteen Negroes and five white persons were killed in the rioting, which, by nearly all accounts, was started by the whites. The Arkansas formula seems to consist in hanging the Negroes who escape the bullets.

Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia

Founded in 1868 by General Armstrong to train selected colored youth who should go out to teach and lead their people. In 1878 Indians were first admitted.

Hampton stands for "a sound body, a trained capacity, and an unselfish outlook on life."

Hampton is an industrial village: 1,100 acres; 140 buildings; 850 boarding students, 500 day pupils in practice-school; 600 summer-school students; 200 teachers and workers.

Hampton has over 2,000 graduates and 3,000 former students; also numerous outgrowths, including Tuskegee, founded by Booker T. Washington.

Hampton offers courses in four schools of normal and collegiate grade—Agricultural, Business, Home-Economics, Normal—and in two schools of secondary grade—Academy and Trade (11 four-year course) and a two-year Advanced Builders' Course.

Hampton needs annual scholarships at $100 each and endowed scholarships at $2,500 each; also $135,000 annually above regular income.

JAMES E. GREGG, Principal
FRANK K. ROGERS, Treasurer

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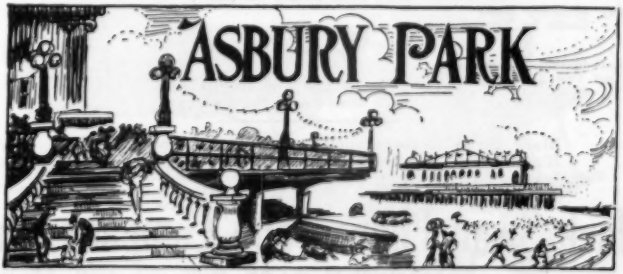

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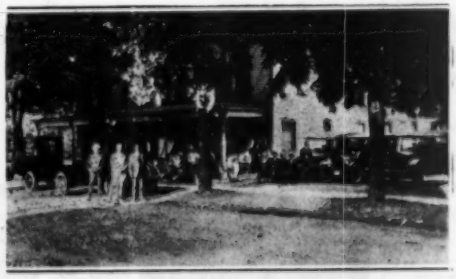

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